MAN'S NEW HOPE

A RELIGIOUS APPROACH TO FOREIGN AID

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By JUSTIN WROE NIXON

HE CHURCH PEACE UNION

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

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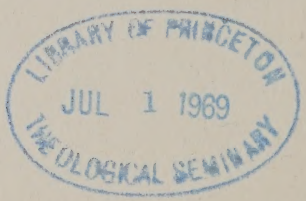

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ON THE COVER: "the revolution of rising expectations." Iranian children discover an American mail-order catalogue.

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Man's New Hope

A Religious Approach to Foreign Aid

by

JUSTIN WROE NIXON

The Church Peace Union
170 East 64th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

1957

50 cents

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Foreword

Religious groups across the country are committed to the idea of foreign aid. They have consistently given official support to both United States and United Nations programs aimed to promote the development of the lesser developed regions of the world. They have often expressed the conviction that the United States, with its immense wealth and power, has a moral obligation to assist substantially in meeting the human needs underscored by "the revolution of rising expectations." To fulfil this moral obligation is in the national interest, broadly conceived. It is also in accord with the humanitarian imperative at the heart of our religious tradition and our American heritage.

Because of its own deep concern about foreign aid programs, The Church Peace Union in early 1956 organized an Ad Hoc Study Group on Foreign Aid. The group met under the chairmanship of a trustee, Dr. Justin Wroe Nixon. Richard Wood was the secretary. Its aim was to investigate thoroughly the subject of foreign aid, with a view to preparing authoritative material especially pointed to the religious groups across the country. Participating in the study group were a number of specialists on foreign aid: individuals with personal experience in the program of the International Cooperation Administration and the United Nations, representatives of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations, and of other non-governmental agencies. In each instance members of the study group acted in an individual capacity and were not officially representing any organization.

This book, *Man's New Hope: A Religious Approach to Foreign Aid,* is the final product of this study. Three substantial papers were prepared for and reviewed by the group. They were used as background by Dr. Nixon in the preparation of this book. Two of them, "Economic Development Through the United Nations" by Barbara Wells and "A Survey of Foreign Aid Programs of Other Nations" by Mervyn Adams, will be available in mimeo-

graphed form. The third, "Brief Survey of United States Foreign Economic Cooperation Since 1945" by David Cushman Coyle, has been printed. These materials may be found useful by groups across the country studying the subject.

A great amount of research has gone into the preparation of the present book. During recent years Dr. Nixon has conferred with many officials both at home and abroad who have been working on bilateral and multilateral programs of foreign aid. He has studied much of the literature in the field.

Dr. Nixon is Professor Emeritus of Christian Theology and Ethics at Colgate Rochester Divinity School. For many years he has held a position of national leadership among religious groups. The author of a number of books, his most recent are *The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage* and *Responsible Christianity.*

The Church Peace Union expresses its warm and deep appreciation to the considerable number of people who advised the Ad Hoc Study Group and contributed to the development of this book. We are especially grateful to Dr. Nixon for the amount of time and attention he has given to this project.

This book clearly challenges the minds and consciences of the members of our churches and synagogues. They have a distinctive responsibility to help develop a moral climate in this country in which a long-range, effective program of foreign aid can be conducted. It is hoped that the religious groups will focus on what they can and should do to prepare this nation to fulfil responsibly its long-term obligation to promote the development of underdeveloped regions.

RALPH W. SOCKMAN, *President*
A. WILLIAM LOOS, *Executive Director*
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The greatest event in the world today is not the awakening of Asia nor the rise of communism—vast and portentous as those events are. It is the advent of a new way of living, due to science, a change in the conditions of work and in the structure of society which began not so very long ago in the West and is now reaching out over all mankind.

James T. Shotwell in
The United States in History.

I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Abraham Lincoln at Independence Hall,
Philadelphia, February 22, 1861.

Hopeful (At Doubting Castle): "Who knows but that God, who made the world, may cause that Giant Despair may die . . . for my part, I am resolved to pluck up the heart of a man."

John Bunyan in *Pilgrim's Progress.*

. I .

Our Time in History

1. THE GREAT CHANGE

The people of this country in their late middle years or over have witnessed a great change in the way human life is carried on. They have witnessed the passing of the outdoor toilet and the arrival of the bathroom, the installation of the family telephone, and the substitution of the electric bulb for the kerosene lamp and the gas mantle. They have received into the great majority of homes the electric iron and toaster, the vacuum cleaner and the mechanical refrigerator.

They can remember when they rushed to the window to see something that looked like an oversized toy—an automobile—as it went chugging by. Little did they suspect that one day two-thirds of our families would own a descendant of this toy, and that the industries associated with it would transform the face of the nation.

The elderly head of the household is aware that the conditions in the factory where he works are very different from what they were decades ago. The machines are more complex and expensive. There are more power-driven tools and there is less hand labor. Our householder knows that his father worked sixty hours a week at the turn of the century while he himself works only forty. Yet what he earns buys twice as much as his father's earnings. He can believe it when he is told that his grandfather worked seventy hours a week in 1850 and that his grandfather's wages bought only one-fourth as much as his own today.

He observes that there is more education now than there used to be. All his children have gone to high school and his oldest boy to college. From 1890 to 1950 the number of students in high

school increased 9.5 times as fast as the population, and the number in college 3.5 times as fast.

Moreover, people are healthier. Since 1900 the death rate from diphtheria per 100,000 has fallen from 40 to .3; from measles 13 to .3; and from typhoid and paratyphoid 31 to .1. More than a hundred antibiotics and wonder-drugs have been discovered in soils, moulds, fungi and other plant growth. The treatment of diabetes, pernicious anemia, syphilis, dysentery, and pneumonia has become so effective that Sir Henry H. Dale, leader of British medicine, has said, "It can hardly be doubted that this aspect of medicine at least has been the subject of a greater advance since the century began than in all the centuries that went before." No wonder that in this country since the beginning of the century approximately twenty years have been added to the average length of life.

When our householder visits his brother in the country, he discovers that the change in the way people live has not overlooked the farm. In 1900 38% of the gainfully employed were in agriculture; now only 12%, but they produce the surpluses that are a political problem. Our visitor discovers that hybrid corn gives a 30% higher yield than the corn seed he used as a boy, and that egg production per egg-laying hen has increased 75% since 1909.

Slowly, and for the most part unobtrusively, the great change has come. The people now are so accustomed to novelty that many important inventions and discoveries are hardly noticed.

It is true, of course, that no millenium has arrived in America. One-sixth of our families still have annual incomes of less than $2000 a year. There are groups still suffering from racial discrimination, economic injustice, lack of educational opportunity and other evils. And there are no adequate guarantees against technical obsolescence, economic depression, political backwardness, and spiritual hardening of the arteries. What has been suggested here are simply a few observable signs of an achievement wrought out in this country during the last century and especially during the last fifty years. It has been an achievement in mastering the resources of nature and in making them available to meet the needs of our people. These people constitute a little over 6%

of the world's population and they occupy a little less than 7% of the world's land area, yet they produce over one-third of the world's goods and services, receive 40% of the world's income, and contribute 50% of the world's factory output.

Nor are we at the end of the road as far as the forces which have wrought this achievement are concerned. A. A. Berle, Jr., the economist, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, which made possible J. Frederic Dewhurst's monumental study, *America's Needs and Resources,* writes in his Foreword to this volume: "The United States has not merely climbed to a new plateau, but is ascending heights whose upper limit is not yet measurable and at an accelerated rate of speed."[1]

2. FORCES MAKING THE CHANGE

What are the *forces* responsible for this great and continuing change in the way people live? If we should put this question to a production engineer, he might reply as follows:

"The answer in one word is *power.* For ages men invented and used tools. But their tools were operated by the muscles of men and animals, or by the immediately available wind and water. In the 18th century men found a new source of power capable of a great variety of uses when they employed the heat of coal to turn water into steam. Dr. Erasmus Darwin, contemplating James Watts' improvements of the steam engine, wrote in 1791:

> Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
> Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
> Or on wide-waving wings expanded bear
> The flying chariot through the fields of air.[2]

"Like other great prophecies this one, though in error in details, was sure in its central insight—the insight into the change steam would bring.

"After steam came electricity. Men worked on this source of power all through the early 19th century. Then in 1866 came the

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[1] Many of the facts set down in the previous pages are taken from this volume.

[2] Quoted by Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization,* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934), p. 159.

development of the dynamo by Siemens, and in 1882 the central power and distribution system invented by Edison. Between 1900 and 1950 the electric generating capacity of the United States was multiplied more than sixty-fold.

"The tapping of pools of petroleum by drilling which came from 1859 on, and the creation of the internal combustion engine in the later 19th century, opened up another source of power. . . . Now with atomic energy we are entering a new power age."

If we should put our question as to the forces responsible for the change to a scientist, we might get a different answer. He might say:

"What the engineer tells us is true, but it is not enough of the truth. The greater force that has made the change is the application of *science* to the practical problems of mankind. For generations scientists seemed to be intent on their theories, while craftsmen and men of affairs concentrated on improvements in tools and methods of work. Today science, emerging from the universities, institutes and laboratories, is flowing in an ever broader stream into the practical activities represented by industry, agriculture, and government. We have always had individual inventors, but now we have teams of scientists and men of practical experience engaged in discovering and inventing. The new thing is the bridge of communication being built between science and the common life. We have learned that for the really great improvements we need scientific theory. Think of the world of practical innovation opened up by Pasteur's views on micro-organisms and Einstein's on the energy latent in the atom.

"Moreover, the gap in time between the work of the laboratory and the work in industry and on the farm has been steadily narrowing. The fifteen-fold increase in scientific research in this country in recent years (1930-1953) has made this possible. As a result we have great new industries today, such as the chemical, electronic, nuclear energy, and pharmaceutical, where there has been almost a direct transfer from the findings of the laboratory into manufacturing and general use."[3]

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[3] *v.*, the report of the Committee on the Social Aspects of Science to the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. *The New York Times,* December 31, 1956, p. 6.

One more witness on what has caused the change might be summoned. A publicist who was a student of our institutions might give us a still different story. It might run like this:

"The secret of what you have been talking about is the climate of *democracy*. The kind of civilization you have described has developed for the most part in the democratic countries. Many of its tools and techniques have been borrowed, as formerly by the Japanese imperialists, and now by the Russian communists. But to really understand this civilization, you must understand the people who have made it.

"This country was built up by people seeking political and religious liberty and economic advancement. These purposes have remained influential among us ever since. They have united with the self-reliance and the expectation of a better future, bred by generations of living on a frontier, to produce a spirit of enterprise that is one of the outstanding characteristics of America.

"This spirit has stimulated both the accumulation of capital and the investment of capital in new ventures. It has fostered competition. It has encouraged people to improve themselves by acquiring new knowledge and skill.

"And along with the spirit of enterprise there has been growing up here a public spirit. Private economic enterprise is at home in America. But we have come to realize that without a system of universal education to equip workers and managers, without the mass-consumption of the products of our economy, and without the social vision to make its profits beneficial to the community, the whole structure will get out of balance and ultimately collapse.

"It is the balanced cooperation of the spirit of enterprise and the public spirit, characteristic of our democracy as it has become mature, that is ultimately responsible for the great change."

3. WHAT THE CHANGE MEANS

Others may account for the change in our way of living during the last half-century in a still different way. And there were philosophical, religious, and other cultural influences that helped to prepare the soil in which the spirit of technological improvement

became rooted. But there is a growing consensus among those who have watched this development in the United States and in other lands, that something has been happening of momentous significance to mankind.

Carleton S. Coon, anthropologist at Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania, sees the whole story of man since the invention of agriculture, three hundred generations ago, now coming to a climax, fraught with both promise and peril. If we are to find our way to a better future, we must become as bold and flexible in our thinking as stone-age man had to be in tracking a bear.[4]

Karl Jaspers, the Swiss existentialist philosopher, is impressed by the global aspect of the great technological change. What is new for him is the fact that where previous history has been "a mere aggregate of local histories," history now is "for the first time becoming world-wide in scope."[5] Something may happen anywhere that will be important to people everywhere.

James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, one of the most respected of American historians, sums up much of what we have been putting down here. In a statement which has particular reference to the growing role of science in human affairs, he says: "Within a single lifetime we are turning the corner on the long stretch of centuries that reaches from beyond the Ice Age. There is no parallel to this in all the history of mankind."[6]

4. THE ISSUE BEFORE US

It is against such a background that in this little book we shall look at one of the pivotal issues of our time—the development of the underdeveloped countries. The underdeveloped countries (a relative phrase) are those where the actual use of the resources is far below the potential use, if adequate capital and technical "know-how" were available.

To the people of the United States who have known the great change that we have known, the people of the underdeveloped

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[4] *The Story of Man,* (Knopf, 1954), p. 425.

[5] *Way to Wisdom,* trans. Ralph Manheim, (Yale University Press, 1951), p. 103.

[6] *The United States in History,* (Simon & Schuster, 1956), p. 234.

regions of the earth are making one of the most poignant appeals in history. It is an appeal sometimes spoken, but often unspoken, or spoken with hesitation, but it is real.

The reality behind this appeal is made clear in figures on the comparative Gross National Product of various areas released in November 1956 by the International Cooperation Administration.

	Annual GNP per capita in dollars
United States and Canada	2300
Western Europe	750
U.S.S.R. and Satellites	600
Latin America	275
Near East	200
Africa	110
Far East and South Asia	100
China and Satellites	55

Another statement, dealing with the incomes of the people of various areas, has been made by Dr. Willard L. Thorp. Dr. Thorp reduces these incomes to a scale with the per capita annual income of an Asiatic considered as 1, and with the incomes of the people in other areas and in the world as a whole calculated from this base.

Asia	1
Latin America	3
World Average	5
Western Europe	11
U.S.A.	31

Dr. Thorp recognizes that there are many statistical and other difficulties in making estimates of this kind, but he feels that "such income figures do give a significant indication of relative differences in economic development."[7]

Now there has been disparity between standards of living in different countries before. But a new element in the picture is that, with modern means of communication, people all over the

[7] In an address before the Graduate Seminar on International Affairs at The Church Peace Union, New York, N. Y., March 14, 1957.

earth are becoming aware of the present disparity. Our GI's who have gone everywhere, our missionaries, our businessmen seeking foreign trade, our tourists, the 34,000 foreign students from 135 nations among us reporting to the folks back home, the press, the motion picture, the radio and television—all tell the story in one way or another of the great change that has come here, and of contrasted conditions in various other countries.

Another new element is that the various peoples over the earth no longer believe that they have to stay as poor and as insecure as they are. They believe that things can be improved. So there has been going on in the underdeveloped regions what has been well called a "revolution of rising expectations."

The juxtaposition of our abundance and the evident need elsewhere is one of the principal causes of the program of governmental assistance to the underdeveloped countries, characteristic of the last few years.

5. THE OBLIGATION

That this is the case was apparent in President Truman's inaugural address of January 20, 1949, in which he said in introducing his now famous "Point 4":

> We must embark on a bold, new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.
>
> More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.
>
> For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these peoples.

Since President Truman's address and the legislation which launched the "bold new program," there has been a change in administration. But the ultimate reason impelling us as a people to undertake such a program is still clear in the minds of our highest officials.

Evidence of this fact is found in the colloquy between Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, and Secretary of State John

Foster Dulles when the latter appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate on April 30, 1956. Referring to President Eisenhower's message to Congress on the Mutual Security Program (which includes assistance to the underdeveloped countries), Senator Smith commented that the President "took the position that the United States should assure each free nation of the world to be able to develop a rising standard of living." He then asked the Secretary, "Now is that policy based on our security and well-being or humanitarian grounds or both?"

Secretary Dulles made this reply: "It is based on both, Senator. If you can imagine a town in which one man was extremely wealthy and who lived in a very fine house and had all the luxuries of life, and all the rest of the people were desperately poor, I believe that that man would feel that it was in his own enlightened self-interest to make a contribution to welfare. . . ."

The Secretary said that "the United States cannot live either happily or safely as an oasis of prosperity in a desert of misery. No wealthy individual can live happily in a community of poverty to which he is indifferent. It is the same with the society of nations." He suggested that we have to do here with "a law of social life, and we cannot violate it except at our peril."

There are many cross-currents that affect these programs of governmental assistance to underdeveloped countries. There are times when, listening to Congressional debates, one wonders why these programs are being promoted. Are they simply maneuvers in the Cold War to oppose communism or prevent subversion? Are they designed to get rid of agricultural surpluses as unobtrusively as possible? Or are they to open up markets, and insure an adequate supply of strategic materials? The programs do serve all these purposes.

But if all these purposes were absent, the obligation implicit in President Truman's statement and made explicit in Secretary Dulles' testimony, when he speaks of our living in a "society of nations" and under "a law of social life," would remain. It is an obligation stated in the Bible ages ago in the words, "If any man has this world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?" It is ex-

pressed pointedly in the words of Jesus, "Every one to whom much is given, of him will much be required." These words, according to Professor Henry J. Cadbury, suggest that in the mind of Jesus, there is "a kind of surtax in the moral realm that goes up more steeply than on a scale of exact proportion."[8]

If this is true, then the moral surtax which history may charge to our account, with respect to what we do about the underdeveloped regions of the world, may be great indeed.

6. THE OPPORTUNITY

But it may be questioned whether a sense of obligation, basic as it is, is enough to induce us to do what needs to be done and what it is in our power to do. We need a motivation as dynamic as the situation before us. After all, we have the world on our hands. For that is what it means to have a billion or more people in the underdeveloped regions of the earth looking to us for help in their effort to achieve a better life. Here we stand in this mid-century decade facing what is no less than continents of opportunity. The only parallel in our American experience to our present situation is the prospect that our fathers faced when, standing on our eastern seaboard, they looked out on the unexplored regions of the New World.

We lived here for almost three centuries with an advancing geographical frontier. Now we are beginning to live on a new social frontier. It is a frontier of cooperation with peoples of many lands, which challenges every pioneering impulse bred into us by our history. Ours is one of the "fullness of time" periods, when the convergence of forces makes practicable achievements that were before impossible. The awakening desire of the peoples of underdeveloped lands for freedom and better conditions, appearing coincidentally with the great change in our Western way of living, is responsible for the coming of a new hope—the hope that man can rebuild his world.

In the past men *dreamed* of a better world. Now they have the technical means by which great improvements of man's material

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[8] *Jesus: What Manner of Man,* (The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 25.

and social welfare over great areas can actually be made. No wonder many of our ablest thinkers feel that we are at one of the turning points of history.

We are in the beginnings of a great undertaking and at a stage where we can learn only by experience. As our fathers became aware of the resources of a new continent only as they used the means available for exploring it, so we will learn what resources are available for world rebuilding only as we use the means—material, intellectual, and spiritual—that have been given us.

7. THIS BOOK

It is with what we can learn from what we have done thus far, in trying to meet basic needs of underdeveloped countries, that this little book has to do. We shall suggest in Chapters II-IV some of the things that have been done by individuals, private agencies and governments. We shall ask in Chapter V what problems have appeared in the course of these efforts. Finally in Chapter VI and the Conclusion, we shall ask what should be done in the years immediately before us, and what is the bearing of this great undertaking on religion.

That religion on its part has a bearing on every aspect of man's life is the witness of Western religious tradition, both Jewish and Christian. The God of the Bible is a God who acts in history. He has never ceased to act. To the eyes of faith this conjunction in our time of human resources and human needs, of which we shall be thinking, is one of God's "mighty acts." The basic question for us, so far as we are religious people, is whether we have eyes that see and ears that hear, and whether what we see and hear leads us to responsible action.

*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Does technological advance really require a democratic climate? How would you account for "the great change"?
2. What problems has this accelerated rate of technological advance created for us in our own country? Is "the great change" a change for the better? Has it made us more materialistic in our ideals?
3. Why should we try to help other countries before we have cleared up some of the bad spots in our own country—slum areas, treatment of minorities, etc?
4. What instances in our past history can you think of when the United States was interested in giving substantial help to other countries?
5. To what extent is it realistic to think that we can help to remedy the disparity between the standard of living of the developed and of the underdeveloped countries?
6. What are the motives likely to affect religious-minded people as they consider the "revolution of rising expectations"?

. II .

The Coming of a Concern

We are interested in this book, mainly, in what people have done and may do through governments to help other peoples. But the urge to help other peoples does not start with governments. Nor does it end with them. Governments are instruments through which the desires of citizens find expression. Behind what governments have been doing in recent years to assist underdeveloped areas lies the concern of individuals, churches, and other private groups to help the people of those areas. Let us look at some of the evidences of this concern and of the ways in which it has manifested itself.

1. A TIME AND A MAN

For generations, the churches of the United States and of the West have been sending representatives into other lands for missionary purposes. The missionary movement has a just claim to pre-eminence among the enterprises that have pioneered in furnishing what is called technical assistance to peoples all over the earth.

If we were writing a history of missions in the modern world, we would begin with the work of the great Catholic missionaries of the 16th century, St. Francis Xavier and Bartolomé de Las Casas. The former was perhaps the greatest missionary since the days of the apostles, while the latter was one of the most influential humanitarians of the ages.

Because we seek the immediate missionary background of technical assistance in our own day, and because of the writer's own limitations of knowledge, we shall begin with the rise of Protestant missions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As an ex-

ample of the kind of missionary influence in which we are interested, we can hardly do better than to cite the career of the man who has sometimes been called the founder of modern Protestant missions—William Carey.

Another Time of Change

William Carey lived in a time when people, even as today, were conscious of change. He was born in England in 1761. He grew up when the struggle for American Independence and the agitation which culminated in the French Revolution were making many Britons sensitive to the "rights of man." The revivals of Wesley and Whitfield were fostering the belief that God could work great changes in people's lives. Interest in the abolition of the slave-trade was on the increase. Captain Cook was opening up a new world in the Orient and the South Seas. Great inventions of the early industrial revolution were coming into use.

Carey came from the humbler ranks of British society. His father was a weaver and a school teacher. He himself was a cobbler, a teacher and a preacher, pursuing all three vocations in order to make a living.

As a child he loved field and forest, and soon became a local authority on birds, plants, and insects. He was fond of books of travel and talked so much of Columbus that "Columbus" became his nickname.

On the threshold of manhood he had a religious experience that took him out of the established church and made him a Baptist preacher. In 1782 he discovered the folios of Captain Cook's voyages, with their engravings and their descriptions of a strange world beyond the seas. He was fascinated. From then on he prayed in public for "Captain Cook's islands." He made a globe and covered it with leather, on which he painted the continents and countries. He kept this by his cobbler's bench. He began a study of foreign languages, and became a gifted linguist. He brooded over the lives of the great missionaries from St. Paul to Eliot and Brainerd in America. He longed to be a missionary himself, if only his brethren would send him out.

He won his chance. In 1792 a missionary society was formed and a year later, Carey sailed for India.

2. WHAT CAREY DID

What Carey did in India was almost incredible. He and his first associate, a ship's surgeon turned missionary, preached and taught, earned their living and doctored the people for seven years before they had an Indian convert. But out of their efforts and those of their successors came the Protestant Churches of North India.

Carey and his associates developed a system of vernacular schools for the children of Bengal, which within twenty-five years of Carey's arrival enrolled 8,000 pupils. So expert in the languages of India did he become that he was appointed professor of Sanskrit and Bengali at the government college in Fort William. There and at his home in nearby Serampore, he worked on translating the Scriptures into the languages of the Indian subcontinent. With the help of the scholars he drew around him, he succeeded in translating the Scriptures in whole or in part into thirty-four different tongues.

He founded a college at Serampore, open to Christian and non-Christian alike, that taught science and Indian classics along with the Bible.

Carey collected and published Indian stories and folk tales, beginning the development of a prose vernacular literature in Bengali. He published two magazines in Bengali that helped to make Indians aware of the events of their world. Through these magazines, he fostered the growth of public opinion against the practice of *suttee* (the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands); his publications also did much to promote better care for lepers.

He created the Agro-horticultural Society of India at a time when there were few such societies in the world—a society which is still flourishing. He stimulated the interest in finding better seeds and plants, initiating experiments in growing coffee, cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, and various cereals.

He set up the first steam engine in India and demonstrated its use in the manufacture of paper.

If we look at the field of technical assistance today, it is remarkable how many types of activity—medical, educational, lit-

erary, agricultural, and industrial—have some kind of representation in the work of William Carey.

Carey is not the founder of modern Protestant missions in an exact sense, for there were other Protestant missionaries before him. But his success in organizing a voluntary missionary society in 1792, plus the interest created in Britain and America by his career, sparked a movement of organized endeavor that became the great Protestant missionary movement of modern times. Sir George Adam Smith was justified in calling him "one of the greatest of God's Englishmen."[1]

3. THE EXTENT OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Since the rise of modern Protestant missions in the late 18th century, the movement has expanded steadily, and Christians—both Catholic and Protestant—of practically all the Western nations have shared in it. A recent statistical report of American Protestant Foreign Missions reveals that in 1956 the number of Protestant Foreign missionaries from the United States and Canada had reached a total of 23,432. They were being supported by 213 agencies and were at work in about 100 different countries. The agencies raised in 1955 over $130 million, of which approximately $100 million was spent abroad.[2]

In the report mentioned above, the number of Roman Catholic missionaries from the United States is given as 5,126. The number of Roman Catholic missionaries from the entire Christian world undoubtedly exceeds the number of Protestant missionaries by a considerable margin. The lastest available figure of the total of Roman Catholic missionaries from all countries is 44,227 (a 1950 figure), as compared with a similar Protestant total of 34,692 (a 1956 figure). Since the establishment of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (1911), with headquarters at Maryknoll, New York, the Catholic missionary movement in this country has been growing rapidly.

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[1] Most of the facts stated above about Carey have been drawn from S. Pearse Carey's *William Carey*, (Doran, 1924).

[2] *A Study of American Protestant Foreign Missions in 1956*, by Frank W. Price and Kenyon E. Moyer. (Missionary Research Library, Occasional Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 9, November 16, 1956).

4. THE IMPACT OF MISSIONS

The fact that over 100,000 missionaries have gone from the Western nations, most of them to work in underdeveloped countries, is in itself one of the causes of the "revolution of rising expectations." For every one of these missionaries is to some degree a stimulus to cultural change. He is there avowedly to help people become aware of the better possibilities of life.

He may also provoke, unwittingly, an anti-foreign, anti-Western spirit. But the missionary is not primarily responsible for the fact that there is contact between the West and the underdeveloped areas. Britons had traded with India for two centuries before Carey arrived. He simply brought resources that would help India which the traders had never brought. We must not forget that the exploitation of peoples in underdeveloped areas for economic or political reasons has gone on whether missionaries were there or not.

On the general influence of missions Bronislaw Malinowski, the eminent anthropologist, has left us words that seem both honest and objective. He speaks, on the basis of his African studies, of the difficulties in the missionary's work. He points out the contradiction between a gospel of universal brotherhood and an atmosphere where "this gospel is not always practiced." But he also says: "The missionary is the master educator . . . in the appreciation by the African of all that is finest in Western culture. He is often the first to come, and . . . the last to abandon the ideal attitude in the treatment of African problems."[3]

If these words are applicable to the work of missions in other parts of the world, and we believe they are, then it is not unfair to assume that the missionary movement has been an important factor in preparing indigenous peoples for the development programs now being projected by governments on a large scale.

5. MISSIONS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The contribution of missions to these programs, however, is not only general but specific.

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[3] *The Dynamics of Culture Change,* (Yale University Press, 1945), p. 68.

Education

Efforts today in many countries to raise the percentage of the literate and to educate people so that they can assimilate the knowledge they need to improve their circumstances often start from foundations which missions have helped to lay. Dr. Frank C. Laubach is a symbol of what this movement has tried to do for masses of people at the base of the educational pyramid. He has directed the making of charts, primers and graded readers in 230 languages and dialects in 68 different countries. He is now working with national governments, and regional and local committees in a world-wide attack on illiteracy. Behind him stretches back across several generations a line of pioneers, who have given "written form to more languages than had previously been reduced to writing in all the history of the race."[4] They have done this in order to make the Bible available to people in their own tongue. Their success is reflected in the fact that the Bible, in whole or part, has been translated into more languages than any other book in history.

To develop literacy and thus enable people to receive the truth brought to them, the missionaries provided schools. Above the primary schools they built high schools and colleges. Their educational contribution to a country such as India may illustrate their achievements.

The Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry of 1930-1932 found that in India primary and secondary mission schools (Catholic and Protestant) constituted 6% of the registered schools; and that the 600,000 students in these schools constituted about 6% of the total pupil enrollment in India.[5]

That these schools had made an impression was evidenced by the fact that the percentage of literacy among Christian men was two and three-quarters times that of men in the general population, while the percentage of literacy among Christian women was about ten times that of the general population.[6]

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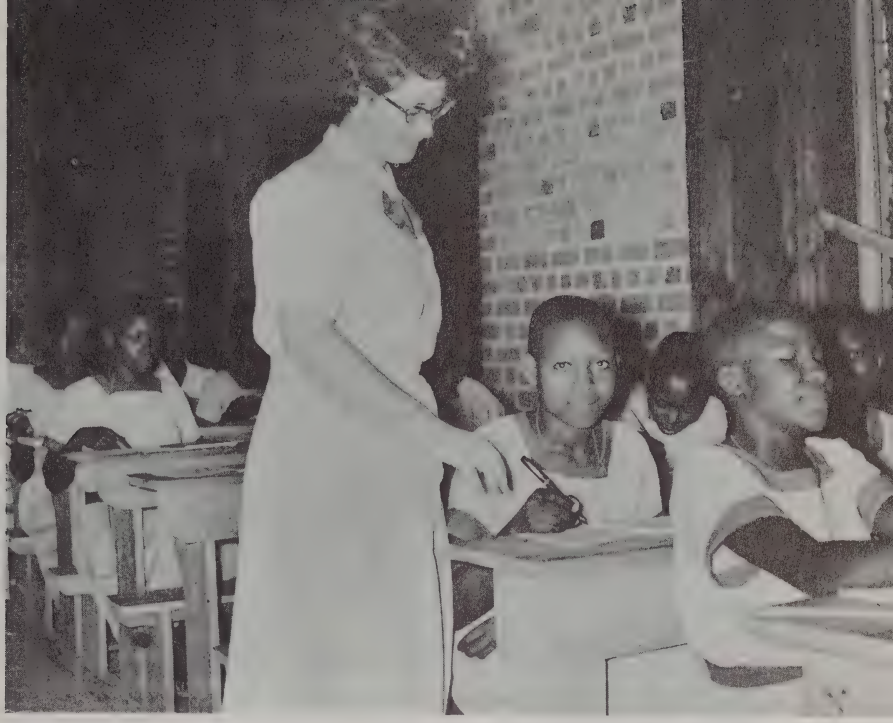
[4] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Missions Tomorrow,* (Harper & Bros., 1936), p. 14.

[5] W. E. Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions,* (Harper & Bros., 1932), p. 123.

[6] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity,* Vol. VII: *Advance Through Storm,* (Harper & Bros., 1945), p. 295.



THE MISSION SCHOOL: A member of the Grail Institute for Overseas Service teaching in a secondary school for girls in Kalisizo, Uganda, Africa.

THE MISSION CLINIC: Indonesian mothers bring their babies to the Medical Mission Sisters' maternity center in Makassar, Celebes.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE: The Allahabad Agricultural Institute in India is both a monument of missionary effort and a training ground for India's growing army of rural technicians.

A group of Institute students whose homes (Assam, Bhutan, Ceylon, Sikkim, Nepal, Pakistan, and Burma) represent the expanding nature of the Indian agricultural program.

This leads to the suggestion that probably the most unique contribution of missions in the field of education has been in the education of women. The fact that the government of India is now seeking to use as many husband and wife teams as possible in its great community development program is a tribute to the success of missions in creating a feeling for the importance of women in the life of the nation.

Health

The doctor and the public health worker play an important part today in technical assistance. Again there is missionary background for their labors. The first physician appointed by a missionary society on account of his medical education was Dr. John Scudder, who was sent out from the United States to Ceylon by the American Board in 1819. Later he went to India. By 1889 there were, as reported, 60 medical missionaries in India, and by 1914, 335.[7] In China, missionary medicine began in Canton in 1835 with the opening of a hospital by Dr. Peter Parker, of Massachusetts. When the China Medical Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation visited China in 1914, they found there a Medical Missionary Association with 470 active members and 9 missionary medical schools approved by the Association.

If we may return to India, the significance of missionary medical service for and by women seems outstanding. It is reported that in 1930, out of 400 women physicians in India, about 150 were missionaries; 43% of the women were medical students in mission hospitals; and from 85-90% of the nurses were Indian Christians who had been trained in these hospitals.[8]

In the field of missionary medicine, one of the important developments during the last generation has been the organization in 1925 of the Medical Mission Sisters by Roman Catholics. This body now furnishes staff to 18 hospitals on four continents, at which 400,000 patients are treated annually. The total number of Catholic hospitals in Asia and Africa, according to 1950 figures, is 717.[9]

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[7] Ibid., Vol. VI: *The Great Century,* p. 191.

[8] Latourette, *Advance Through Storm,* p. 297.

[9] Anna Dengel, M.D., *Mission for Samaritans,* (Bruce Publishing Co., 1945).

Agriculture

Missionaries have been rendering services in improving the conditions of rural peoples for many years. We saw how interested Carey was in seeds and plants and the cultivation of new crops. It was a missionary, the Rev. Samuel Mills, who in the late 19th century introduced the Virginia peanut into North China, and thereby affected the lives of millions of farm families. In East Africa a missionary greatly increased the food supply of his district by devising a better method of harvesting peanuts. In Chile a mission farm, by planting good nursery stock, graded up fruit production, and improved the export fruit market. The former College of Agriculture and Forestry, at the University of Nanking, supported by mission and other private American funds, provided for years the only training in forestry available in China.

At the Allahabad Agricultural Institute in India, one can see what missions at their best can achieve in the improvement of rural and community conditions. From a 275-acre farm founded by Dr. Sam Higginbottom in 1911, there has developed a school and demonstration center for the training of Indian agriculturists. Today the farm has 600 acres, and students come from all over India and from other lands. The Institute is engaged in an important Demonstration Extension Project, and is training hundreds of village-level workers for service in the Indian Government's Community Development Program. The Ford Foundation has contributed to this project.

More missionaries with agricultural training are undoubtedly needed. Many leaders see this, and the number of trained agriculturists, while small, is on the increase. In 1952 the mission boards listed only 62 persons as specialists in agriculture and home economics. The number has risen now (1956) to over 160. It is believed that by 1961, the number will have risen to 400.[10]

Nevertheless, even though the number of trained people has been limited, the work of missionaries in blazing the trail for the new governmental community programs has drawn praise

[10] Ira W. Moomaw in *Occasional Bulletin,* Vol. VII, No. 4, April 23, 1956, (Missionary Research Library).

from those outside the missionary ranks. Mr. Arthur F. Raper, of the International Cooperation Administration, says: "Of all the background work that has led to country-wide community development programs today, the most numerous pilot and demonstration projects have been those of the Christian missionaries."[11]

6. END OR BEGINNING?

Many of the illustrations we have used have been drawn from India. It seemed wise to do this because we began with Carey, and apart from the massive importance of India in the problem of the underdeveloped countries, illustrations from that land would give more unity to our story. Illustrations could be cited from many countries of the pioneering work of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries in this field.

We are happy to note that conclusions similar to our own as to the value of missions in preparing the way for governmental programs of technical assistance have been reached by those who have given attention to other areas. The representative of the National Planning Association in commenting on governmental programs of "expanded technical assistance in Latin America" says, "historically the religious groups led the way, and we hope their technical assistance activities can be increased."[12]

This will require, of course, flexibility in programs where governments are moving in to do what religious groups have done in the past. The spirit of the great pioneers of mission work will once more have to take the lead. One wonders what young Carey would do if, with his eagerness and hopefulness, he were among us now to feel the challenge of our time.

7. OTHER PATHBREAKERS

There are other religious groups besides those associated with Christian missions, which have been preparing the way for gov-

[11] *Community Development Bulletin,* (ICA) September 1956, p. 31.
[12] James G. Maddox, *Technical Assistance by Religious Agencies in Latin America.* (The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 128.

ernmental programs to help the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. We think especially of the tremendous contributions overseas of the American Jewish community, which in 1955 amounted to $86 million.[13] If governmental programs of the type we have mentioned are to be adequately sustained, it will be because they tap a reservoir of interest created by religious organizations among millions of our citizens.

But there is another phase of our concern in this chapter which we must mention, though we can hardly do more than that. We refer to the work of the foundations.

The philanthropic foundation, as we know it today, is largely an American product of this century. Few existed earlier. Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, writing the story of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1951, says that approximately a dozen foundations were formed during the first decade of this century, and over twenty in the second decade, and that since 1920, the rate of formation has been over ten a year.[14] A number of the foundations have been interested in projects that contributed very substantially to the welfare of underdeveloped countries. This has been true of the Rockefeller Foundation. Because it has been a pioneer in the formation of foundation purposes and policies, we shall use it as an illustration in this discussion.

Two characteristics of the Rockefeller Foundation impress this reader of its story. First, the Foundation reveals in its origins a definite continuity with the religious type of humanitarianism represented by the missionary movement. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., whose benefactions brought the Foundation into being, was a loyal churchman. From his youth he had contributed to his church and to its missionary enterprises, often from meager savings. As he gained affluence, his interest and his giving in this area increased. Some of the great projects of the Rockefeller Foundation, such as its contribution to medical education in China, grew up in soil that had been fertilized by missionary interests.

Second, the Foundation represents an outstanding effort to combine humanitarianism with science. The Foundation has ex-

[13] *v.*, statement in Appendix.

[14] *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation,* (Harper & Bros., 1952), p. 304.

pended vast sums. Up to the end of 1956, it had given away or expended in some type of humanitarian service over $565 million. Some $249 million (excluding what had been expended earlier by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission) has gone into public health around the world. Over $137 million (including contributions from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial) has gone into social science projects. The Foundation has awarded or financed more than 11,000 fellowships to students and scholars from 75 different countries. In education, health, agriculture, and other fields, it has explored ground upon which governments have entered later in technical assistance activities.

The Foundation had a mandate from its charter "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." In carrying out that mandate, it has emphasized the search for causes of human ills. In that search it has laid claim to as much scientific ability as it could command. In its work we begin to see what humanitarian concern fostered through generations by religious faith can accomplish when united with the spirit and methods of science.

We must be content with this one illustration of the work of the foundations. Some of them, such as the Near East Foundation and the Ford Foundation, although not as old as the Rockefeller Foundation, have already made valuable contributions to the underdeveloped countries.

But we must turn to another issue. It is this: Can the concern to help the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, nurtured by religious groups and by many voluntary organizations, such as the foundations, find valid and adequate expression through governments?

*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What part of a missionary's activity do you consider to be most worth while? If you were a missionary, what special skill or knowledge would you like to bring to people in other lands? What elements of your own religious faith and practice would be especially helpful to them?
2. What are the chief criticisms of missionary work? Do they seem to you to be justified?
3. In what ways may the changes now taking place in the newly independent countries affect the missionary work of the churches?
4. In our missionary work are we in danger of trying to impose our Western culture on non-Western peoples?
5. Have we something to learn from these non-Western peoples? What may we learn from the people of India or of the Middle East?
6. Will missionary work lose its effectiveness if it turns over its humanitarian and technical assistance activities to governmental agencies?
7. How do you think that a great missionary pioneer such as William Carey would respond to the challenge of this time?

. III .

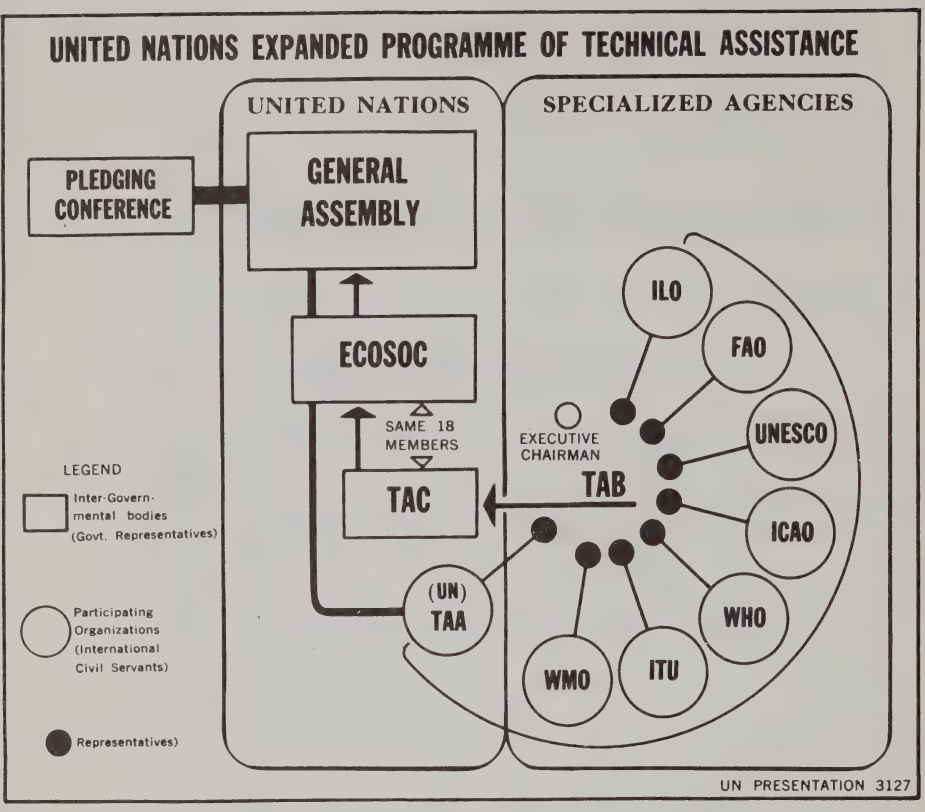
Governments Help One Another

1. OLD TRUTH AND A NEW CAUSE

The second inaugural address of President Eisenhower on January 21, 1957 marks a historic moment in the development of our national outlook. Approximately eight years before, President Truman, in his inaugural address, had called for "a bold new program" of assistance to the peoples of the "underdeveloped areas" of the earth.

What was known as "Point 4" in President Truman's address became almost the entire burden of President Eisenhower's remarks. The matter was stated differently. The emphasis in the former address was practical. The emphasis in the latter was more philosophical. But the issue was the same. Let us note some of the statements in President Eisenhower's address that seem particularly significant. After speaking of our own land, he said:

> This is our home—yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies—with men of all peoples and all nations who are or would be free.
>
> From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific, one third of all mankind has entered upon a historic struggle for a new freedom; freedom from grinding poverty. . . .
>
> We must use our skills and knowledge, and at times our substance, to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least the spark of hope, the hope of progress—or there will surely rise at last the flames of conflict.
>
> We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations. For in that body rests



the best hope of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity.

The economic need of all nations—in mutual dependence—makes isolation an impossibility; not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not also prosper. No nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. And any nation, seeking such shelter for themselves, can now build only their prison.

The principles that lie behind this address are those of the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the concern that animates it is one that has long been fostered by religious groups. What the President did was to spell out the implications of ancient principles, requiring concern for one's neighbor, in terms of the world situation of our time. He spoke as he did because, to his mind, our nation's service to other nations in their struggle against

poverty had become essential to peace, to freedom, to our own prosperity, and even to human survival.

Moreover, while President Eisenhower was speaking particularly to America, he was expressing sentiments that are widely felt and in behalf of a cause which has world-wide support. Let us note some of the evidences of the policy of helping other nations in their struggle against poverty, as they have appeared thus far in the activities of governments.

2. HELP THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS

As is often the case, what seems a new venture of the human spirit actually has many antecedents. This is true of the efforts of governments to help one another with "skills," "knowledge," and "substance" (to use President Eisenhower's words) through the United Nations.

Our own government has had considerable experience in encouraging and dispatching missions of experts to help other nations. And in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, the Philippines, and other areas, it has had administrative responsibilities in dealing with conditions of health, education, and economic production that characterize many underdeveloped countries.

Moreover, the experience of many international bodies had been made available to the United Nations. There was the International Institute of Agriculture, founded in Rome (1905), an ancestor of the Food and Agriculture Organization. There was and still is the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which began its operations (1942) under the chairmanship of Mr. Nelson Rockefeller. Its pioneering work has furnished guidance for the technical assistance projects of the United Nations. There were the departments of the League of Nations and the organizations associated with it.

Nevertheless, the people who formed the Specialized Agencies of the UN were justified in feeling that something new in the world was happening. Lester B. Pearson (now Minister for External Affairs in Canada) made the following comments on the founding of the Food and Agricultural Organization at Quebec in 1945:

The first of the new, permanent United Nations agencies is now launched. There are few precedents for it to follow; it is something new in international history. There have been functional international agencies with more circumscribed objectives and tasks, but FAO is the first which sets out with so bold an aim as that of helping nations to achieve freedom from want. Never before have the nations got together for such a purpose.[1]

We might add that never before had the nations set up a group of agencies that were prepared, not only to collect statistics and publish facts, but to go into action on a world-wide basis, furnishing experts and equipment to governments which wanted to improve the lot of their people.

The next step was the coordination of the work of these agencies for a combined attack on the problems of human welfare. This was effected in 1949 in the creation, by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the UN, of the Expanded Technical Assistance Program. This program was to be under the direction of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB), which would report through the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly. The Technical Assistance Board is composed of representatives from each of the organizations participating in the Expanded Program, and an Executive Chairman. (This relationship is shown on the chart on page 34.)

The General Assembly then called for a pledging conference at which the governments were invited to pledge funds for the operation of the program. This conference has been held annually since 1950. The fund has grown steadily in annual contributions from the $20,035,578 pledged by 54 countries up to December 31, 1951, to more than $31,000,000 pledged by some 75 countries for 1957. The United Nations, as well as some of the Specialized Agencies, also allocates considerable amounts from their own regular budgets to undertake additional technical assistance work. The sum spent by international organizations on technical assistance programs is, therefore, considerably greater than the Expanded Program budget alone. The contribution of the United States to the Expanded Program, which began at

[1] *So Bold an Aim,* (Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization, 1955), p. 58.

BOLSTERING NATURAL RESOURCES: Libya's valuable citrus crop benefits from modern methods of pest-control. Here, an FAO expert carries out a spraying demonstration.

THE MARCH ON ILLITERACY gains impetus as a young Libyan learns typing skills at the ILO-sponsored Clerical and Technical Training Center in Tripoli.

UN SPECIALISTS avert a housing shortage in Ceylon through the building of houses made from rammed earth. To meet the needs of an increasing low-income population, the government plans the large-scale construction of family-unit projects . . .

. . . like this one on a 45-acre site in Gongitota. Rammed earth houses are not only cheaper and cooler than houses made with brick or stone, but have the advantage of walls that are fire-, rot- and termite-proof.

about 60% of the total, has in recent years been brought down to slightly below 50%.

3. EXAMPLES OF U. N. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

What is this money able to accomplish? As the UN Expanded Program works out its activities, country by country, let us note some examples of technical assistance, taking account of the differences in need in various countries.

Libya[2]

Libya on the north coast of Africa became an independent state in 1951. It has now a population of about one million, 85% of which is illiterate. The annual per capita income is estimated at about $35.00. Foreign trade is not developed and there is an adverse balance of trade. While there is prospecting for oil, the resources of the country, as known, consist of soil, water, and the skills of the people.

Before Libya became independent, the UN sent out a group of experts who made an economic survey of the country. The recommendations of this group have influenced the technical assistance programs developed in subsequent years. During 1951-1954 the UN put into Libya about $2,200,000. These funds kept about 75 experts of various types working each year in Libya, and provided fellowships for an average of 43 Libyans a year to study abroad.

The original survey of Libya showed that the greatest need of the country, which the UN could help to satisfy, was the need for trained personnel to carry on any kind of administrative activity. There was a great lack even of clerks and typists.

To meet this situation a school was established for the education of civil servants. The ILO supervises the work of this school. As of 1954, the school had 33 teachers, drawn for the most part from Tunisia, Syria, Egypt, and Jordan, with a few from the United Kingdom, Australia, and France. Instruction was in Arabic. One hundred graduates of the school are now em-

[2] The information on the three countries discussed here is taken for the most part from the Report of the Technical Assistance Board, E/TAC/SC.1/R./ June 6, 1955.

EXAMINING THE CATCH ON A BEACH IN CEYLON. FAO methods and techniques have helped to enlarge and mechanize the Ceylonese fishing industry.

ployed in government service. The student body numbers about 300.

UNESCO has contributed training centers for the education of men and women teachers for primary schools. These are cooperative projects with the Libyan government. In the training center for men, there were, in 1954, 585 students, of which 311 had enrolled for the four-year course. The number of trainees in the women's training center was 288.

Contributions of considerable direct importance to Libya's economic welfare have been made by FAO experts in the field of citrus culture. They have instructed citrus farmers in the spraying of orchards with insecticides, and exporters in the standardization, sorting and packing of fruit for foreign markets. As a result, the volume of fruit exported had reached a figure in 1955 ten times that of the 1953-1954 season.[3]

[3] From *Seeds of Progress,* (UN Department of Information), p. 20.

The Libyan illustrations are typical of situations where peoples are moving into statehood. There are many millions of such people. The need among them for the education of public servants, and indeed for education of all kinds, is overwhelming. At the same time, definite improvements can be made in certain aspects of the economy.

Ceylon

The technical assistance of UN agencies in Ceylon illustrates what such agencies may do in underdeveloped countries which have a national plan. Ceylon is a member of the Colombo Plan. Under the stimulation of that plan and of an economic survey by the World Bank in 1952, a good deal of thinking has gone on as to priorities in need to be met by technical assistance.

Ceylon is growing very rapidly. Its population in 1953 was over 8,000,000. It is clear that it needs food, housing and mechanized equipment. The UN agencies have worked on all these problems.

The UN experts, for instance, have greatly increased the output of the government-owned salterns. Ceylon had produced salt for centuries but had never even supplied its own requirements. A team of three UN experts succeeded in increasing the output from 20,000 tons to 40,000 tons a year, and the prospects are so good that in favorable years the production may rise to 75,000 tons. This will make it possible for Ceylon to be a salt exporter.

The rapid increase in population has produced a housing shortage, while at the same time, the traditional housing materials have become too expensive. A UN housing expert developed, at first experimentally, a house that was made from rammed and stabilized earth. Sample houses of this material were put up in many towns and villages. They gave a good account of themselves in all kinds of weather. The result is that both the government and private builders are turning to this type of house. The government program contemplates the building of 50,000 houses a year, and it is based on using many houses of this type.

Everybody wants machinery. It is today the universal language. In Ceylon there is a large-scale settlement and land-clearing project going forward in the Southeast. Many tractors and other earth-moving machines have been brought in. An FAO

expert developed an in-training program for teaching workers how to handle and maintain these machines. Three thousand workers have benefited by the program. The same type of instruction has been provided in northern Ceylon, where 195 tractors and related equipment have been sent in by Australia under the Colombo Plan. Along with training in handling the machinery, the FAO people have developed the cooperative and pool-use of the machines and cost accounting as applied to farm machinery operations.

In Northern Ceylon also, FAO experts were a big factor in improving the food supplies from fish, and the income of fishermen. The first step was a survey by an FAO representative of the various types of boats used by the fishermen. He found no mechanical boats used by them. Then three or four engines were donated by FAO and sold at half price. The result was so impressive in increasing the catches of the fishermen that the Canadian Government gave 40 engines under the Colombo Plan, to be sold at cost, with installation by the FAO. The operation has now reached the point where the supply of engines can be handled by normal commercial methods.[4]

Technical assistance in Ceylon illustrates the importance of good planning and of fitting UN contributions into a plan.

Iraq

Iraq illustrates still another type of underdeveloped country. It is not overcrowded. The population is about 5,000,000. It has large unused resources of soil and water. And it has large oil royalties, which the government is ready to use for improving the life of the people. The World Bank in its 1951 survey of Iraq described the country as on the threshold of a "great advance."

One of the important things the UN has done in Iraq has been to promote the study of soils. Some 14,000 hectares (a hectare is 2.71 acres) have been surveyed and mapped and a soils laboratory has been established. The building for the laboratory has

[4] Information about the Ceylon project among fishermen was drawn from *Economic Development and Technical Assistance through the United Nations Family of International Organizations,* by Barbara Wells. This document may be obtained from The Church Peace Union.

been furnished by the government. The apparatus and equipment have been supplied through the United States bilateral program. The soil expert of FAO has supervised the development and has continued his soil analysis with the assistance of experts from Iraq.

A ground-water geologist has made detailed field studies of sites suitable for drilling. A well-drilling expert has followed this assignment, and has trained a number of crews in the use of drilling rigs purchased by the government. The government accepted the recommendations of these experts, and has allocated $4,500,000 for well-drilling projects.

UNESCO has played a part in the advance movement in Iraq through its contributions to the science departments in the new College of Arts and Sciences. The UNESCO experts helped with the planning of the physics, chemistry and biology laboratories and were appointed by the government as heads of science departments. One of the features of scientific work in Iraq is that it is related to the economic development of the country—that means, among other things, to the production and exporting of dates (Iraq being the world's principal date producer). One of the results of the cooperation of the chemistry department of the college, an FAO expert, and the Date Association, has been the production of white sugar from dates, which is an encouragement to the cause of scientific research.

Many other projects of assistance have been and are being worked out in Iraq. Not all the ventures have come off well. One learns of tax and social security recommendations that apparently got nowhere, of laboratories recommended and not built, of valuable leads in the date industry whose future is in doubt. Perhaps there have been too many projects. As TAB evaluates its work in Iraq, it asks whether it might not be well to concentrate its efforts in fewer fields.

4. AN OVER-ALL VIEW

Looked at in detail, one sees hundreds of projects the UN has fostered all over the earth. Even when study is confined to a single country, it is easy to miss the contribution those projects have

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN IRAQ: UN experts confer with village leaders on a site for a government-staffed community center.

made. Sometimes one sees what is happening more clearly by looking at a single project and thinking of its implications.

There is, for instance, the Advanced School for Public Administration in Costa Rica, which serves five of the Central American Republics. All of these countries had had similar and urgent problems in the conduct of government. They turned to the UN for help. The result was this school, opened in 1954 and staffed by experts recruited from the United States, France, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United Kingdom. Civil servants and political leaders from Central America have come to the school to take short courses and to talk over their problems with specialists in the same work from other countries. Over 100 civil servants have graduated from the school and a number of them now have important positions in the governments of their respective coun-

tries. Perhaps more important still is the fact that the school represents a regional approach to governmental problems which is certain to grow as the possibilities of this approach unfold.

A different type of project is the assistance being rendered to the Brazilian government in the development of the Amazon region, a territory larger than Central and Western Europe. Twelve experts have been sent into this region by FAO and UNESCO, and more are to follow. Forest policy, the demonstration of saw-milling, fish resources, cattle breeding, soil surveys, and the introduction of new crops are some of the interests guiding the project. One sees here, in the making, a plan for stimulating the economic life of a great territory.[5]

A unique "tie-up" of forces making for national improvement is illustrated by the cooperation of UNESCO with an individual and a government in a radio educational program in Colombia. Back in 1947 Father José Joaquin Salcedo became concerned about the illiteracy and lack of cultural interests prevailing in his mountain parish of Sutatenza, where only one farmer in three could write. Being a qualified radio ham, he acquired a 250-watt transmitter from U. S. Army surplus stock and receivers for fifteen villages, and began broadcasting educational programs.

Today the Government of Colombia and UNESCO are helping Father Salcedo in what has become one of the world's largest educational programs by radio. From the capital in Bogota, as well as from Sutatenza, Father Salcedo's organization broadcasts lessons six hours a day in reading, writing, hygiene, history, and other subjects which reach some 200,000 pupils. UNESCO experts are helping to create posters and other reading materials and to guide teaching methods. An ultimate enrollment of one million in these radio schools is anticipated.[6]

Looking back over the five years since the UN Expanded Program got under way, and thinking of the work under its supervision, one can add up some impressive totals. Over 5000 experts have been sent out altogether to render assistance in over 130 countries. In the great majority of these countries, the average

[5] From *Statement by the Executive Chairman of TAB at the 389th Meeting of the Second Committee of the UN General Assembly,* November 23, 1956, pp. 8-10.

[6] U. S. National Commission for UNESCO *Newsletter,* June 24, 1955, p. 2.

per capita income of the people has been under $150.00 per year. Over 10,000 fellowships have been awarded to individuals in these countries, so that they can study abroad and bring back knowledge and skills to be put to work in their own country. All the while a body of experience in the cooperation of human beings on many levels has been accumulating.[7]

What kind of an estimate shall we place on what has been done? At least two views are open to us. One is represented by the statement of Paul Hoffman, U. S. representative to the 11th General Assembly of the United Nations. "Great numbers of the citizens of my country," he said, "feel that there is probably greater hope for the world—for economic advance and growing human understanding—for that tolerance and good-will which our torn world needs so desperately in these days—in the kind of effort represented by the over 4,000 United Nations experts working in 111 states and territories than in almost anything else that has so far been devised by man."[8]

Another view has been stated by Professor M. Searle Bates, of Union Theological Seminary, who has spent many years in the Far East and has an unusual knowledge of Asia and Africa. "Technical assistance and other aid to underdeveloped countries," he says, "are valuable indicators of what *could* be done. They point inevitably to greatly needed enterprises which could go forward only with capital that is not in sight. Concerned observers have frequently denoted the assistance programs as conscience-covering substitutes for real cooperation in broad economic development, which would require decent tariff policies, significant international lending and the like."[9]

These words were echoed by TAB itself: "A beginning has been made. . . . But the surface of the great task has barely been scratched, and its long-term implications scarcely recognized."[10]

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[7] *A Forward Look,* Report of TAB, May 11, 1956, p. 348.

[8] Press Release, No. 2541, Dec. 4, 1956. U. S. Mission to the United Nations.

[9] *Christianity and Crisis,* August 6, 1956, p. 106. For an illuminating discussion of the importance of trade and tariff policies, see Gunnar Myrdal, "Trade and Aid," *The American Scholar,* Spring 1957. Mr. Myrdal praises the generosity of the American people in their economic aid program, but points out that a more liberal tariff and trade policy would not hurt our economy and is at least equally as important as aid programs are to the underdeveloped countries.

[10] *A Forward Look,* p. 47.

STUDENTS learn to use the library's card catalogue at the Advanced School of Public Administration of Central America in San José, Costa Rica.

LUMBER FROM THE AMAZON BASIN: This sawmill, located on one of the Amazon's tributaries, is part of a government-FAO plan for the development of Brazil's "land of promise."

5. OTHER INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

If we are only at the beginning of a great task in our relations with the underdeveloped countries, then there is probably room for other associations of governments to see what they can do. Among several existing associations, there are two that should be mentioned here.

One is the Organization of American States. It has a program of technical assistance that goes back to formal action in 1950. It carries on training in institutes and workshops that are held in a number of cities in Latin America. The training program deals with such subjects as statistics, housing, rural normal schools, evaluation of natural resources, administration of children's services, improvement of agriculture and rural life, and foot and mouth disease, each institute or workshop specializing in one of these subjects. The program has opened up opportunities for technical training to 300 trainees a year, on scholarships provided by agencies of the Organization of American States. Over 1000 students per year have attended the national and international courses sponsored by the OAS. The budget for this training program amounted in 1956 to $1,613,760.

The other association is that which is grouped around the British Commonwealth of nations in the Colombo Plan.

The Colombo Plan had its origin in a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, at Colombo, Ceylon, in January, 1950. At that meeting action was taken to set up a Committee to survey the needs of South and Southeast Asia, and to discover what capital and technical services might be required and available to set the region forward on the road to economic development.

A Six-Year Plan for 1951-1957 was approved. But action has been taken since to continue the Plan until 1961. It was estimated that the total cost of the improvements contemplated over the six-year period would be about $5.2 billion. Of this amount 40% would be provided by the areas seeking development, 15% from sterling reserves, and 45% from outside sources.

Each country in the area prepares and carries out its own program, but it benefits from consultation with the Plan's Consulta-

tive Committee, which is composed of representatives of 20 countries (including the U. S.) participating in the Plan. Technical assistance is provided for the most part, and capital equipment exclusively, on a bilateral basis.

The external capital in grants and loans offered to the countries in this area participating in the Plan, up to January 1, 1956, amounted to about $1,820,000,000. In addition the British government has released about $125,000,000 per year to India, Pakistan and Ceylon from trade balances accumulated during the war.

Obviously, with considerable external capital resources available, those responsible for the Plan could tackle projects involving electric power, irrigation, reclamation schemes, and the construction of factories. This has been done.

The financing of the Plan, so far as foreign contributions to the governments of South and Southeast Asia are concerned, has been done "without strings," and the methods and results of the Plan are worthy of careful study by all who are interested in the underdeveloped countries.[11]

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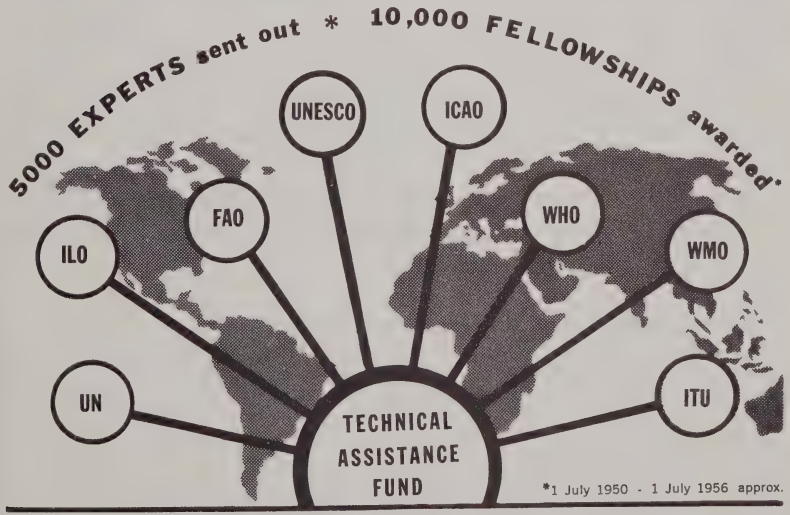
[11] Most of the material on the Organization of American States and the Colombo Plan has been drawn from *A Survey of Bilateral and Multilateral Foreign Economic Aid Programs of the United Nations from 1945-1956*, by Mervyn W. Adams. This document may be secured from The Church Peace Union.



6. AN OLD CONCERN ON A NEW LEVEL

Whatever else may be said about the Technical Assistance programs of the United Nations, and of the other associations of nations to which we have referred, one thing is clear. In these organizations, the concern which we saw earlier at work in individuals, and religious and other voluntary groups, has now emerged on the governmental level. The concern for the fate of the people in the underdeveloped countries is now "news." It is even the subject of bitter debate.

Can we do better what we are doing? Should we be doing it at all? If we had enough imagination could we be doing something far greater? Such are the questions about which committees of Congress now hold hearings and for which commissions of wise men seek answers.

We shall turn now to our own government's effort to deal with such questions. But it would be well to remember how close the issues are to the grassroots of human hope and longing.

UNESCO had been developing an adult education project in Libya. Down in a most arid region, the Fezzan, there were twenty-one village centers in oases, where men were learning new skills, women new arts, and the village, as a whole, new ways to make life interesting. A Sheikh came to the community worker from India, who was in charge of the project, and said that he wanted his people to have a share in what was being done. "Please add my village to your list of proposed centers," he said. "I shall not lag behind in a good cause. Remember the Holy Verse, 'Can kindness be repaid with aught but kindness? Verily the future shall be better than the past.' "[12]

It is this hope in the hearts of millions around the world that will make it difficult for governments, when they have put their hands to the plough, to turn back.

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[12] From *Techniques for Tomorrow,* (United Nations), p. 18.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is accepting "our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere" the equivalent of taking up "the white man's burden"?
2. Do the achievements cited in this chapter encourage or discourage you? Is the job just too big to undertake?
3. Looking at all the facts, how do you estimate the humanitarian work of the United Nations? What do you see that is "for it" and what "against it"?
4. Is this humanitarian work a "conscience-covering substitute" for a real attack on the task of developing economically the underdeveloped countries?
5. What are the difficulties in the way of channeling more U.S. funds through the United Nations?

. IV .

The United States Gives and Gains

There is a parable about a man who lived in a small one-room cabin and who was invited to take up his dwelling in a palatial mansion with many rooms. He was assured that he could have anything he wanted and that he would be much more comfortable. He made the change. But he discovered that the mansion had a lot of other inhabitants who had been similarly invited. The question soon arose as to who was to boss whom. There was a tension among the occupants that could not easily be removed.

One is likely to make a discovery somewhat like this when one turns from what the missions and the foundations and even the United Nations are doing for the underdeveloped countries to what one's own government, that of the United States, is doing. When he tries to find out what his government is doing, he is told to consult the Mutual Security Program for the current year. When he does so, he may well think that he has entered the mansion with the many rooms and occupants.

This is not said in depreciation of what our government has done abroad. Far from it. The effort of our government during the post-war years in behalf of freedom, peace and economic stability in the world cannot but impress one by its massive character. The effort has been vast beyond our power to comprehend. But it has been a complicated effort with many strands woven into its varied designs. To appreciate it, even superficially, one must try to see where some of these strands originate. That is our attempt here.

1. THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

We have already suggested that behind the clear purposes avowed by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower to help the underdeveloped countries lie earlier activities of our government. Before World War II, the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, and other governmental agencies had been cooperating with some of these countries in economic experiments and other social measures. In 1942 the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and the Inter-American Educational Foundation were created especially to further such projects in Latin America. Loans were made by the Export-Import Bank and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to shore up the economies of some Latin American countries in the effort to protect them against Nazi and communist penetration.

Moreover, our government had profited by the lessons of World War I, and had put its help to friendly nations in World War II on the basis of lend-lease. Between 1940 and 1945, it gave assistance to other nations, mainly through lend-lease, to the amount of $49 billion, and received in return a little over $8 billion.

Relief

With the close of the war came the organization of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. As far as our help abroad was concerned, our major preoccupation was with the problem of relief. Between 1944 and 1947 the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) shipped about $3 billion worth of food, textiles and other goods to people in need. The United States was responsible for over 70% of the contributions to UNRRA.

Recovery

The year 1947 was marked by the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine that we would extend aid to Greece and Turkey to enable them to maintain their independence; and by the Marshall Plan to extend aid to the nations of Europe in their efforts at economic recovery. During the years of the Plan (1948-51), Con-

TURKEY:
A COUNTRY ON THE MARCH.

Rich deposits of chromite, a strategic material of stockpile importance, provide Turkey with a major industry. Here, a miner breaks deep into the chromite face of the Kirli mine in Hatay province.

Chromite consignments to America and Britain help stabilize the Turkish economy. This freighter at the port of Iskenderun receives the valuable ore for the steel mills of Great Britain.

An excavator, furnished by ECA, dredges a canal near Bergama. Newly-irrigated lands in Turkey have accounted for a 30 to 35 per cent crop increase.

gress made available for the European Recovery Program (ERP) $13.6 billion.[1]

The results of the Marshall Plan, while incomplete at the expiration of ERP, were nevertheless reassuring. Industrial production in Western Europe had gone up 50% during 1947-52, and the whole psychology of the public in free Europe toward the possibility of a happier future had undergone a marked change for the better.

Resistance and Rearmament

But long before the Marshall Plan was terminated, our situa-

[1] Harry Bayard Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning,* (Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 162.

tion abroad had become complicated by other factors. In December 1947, Rumania passed under a communist regime, and in February 1948, Czechoslovakia. In April 1948, the Soviet military government of Berlin began a land blockade of the allied sector of the city. From then until September 30, 1949, when the blockade was lifted, the United States and Great Britain flew in 2,343,315 tons of food and coal to keep the city alive. No wonder the North Atlantic Treaty (signed April 4, 1949) was regarded as a necessity. The Western European nations had hardly started on the road to recovery before they had to rearm.

On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army crossed the boundary which separated North from South Korea, and the Korean war was on. The United States itself began to rearm with all seriousness, and our aid to Europe became directed to the primary purpose of helping Europe to rearm. By 1952, 80% of American aid to Europe was being given in weapons or in defense support.[2]

Reappraisal

Today the background of our Mutual Security Program seems to have shifted once more. The key word now is "reappraisal." The pressure for armament both abroad and at home is still great. The Cold War, which succeeded the Korean armistice, is just as cold as ever. The really new factor is Russia's attempt to penetrate underdeveloped countries with economic aid, and in some instances, with military aid. Her aid to Egypt, for instance, is a symbol of the change that is taking place in her policies.

Russia makes few outright grants. She operates by trade agreements which relieve some countries of their crop surpluses, and by long-term low-interest loans, payable in local currencies or products. In 1956, Secretary Dulles estimated the total value of Soviet technical and economic assistance projects to the free nations at about $600 million.[3]

Under the pressure of the events we have noted here, the pattern of the design in our aid abroad has shifted from relief to

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[2] For U. S. aid to other nations in the post-war period, see David Cushman Coyle, *United State Foreign Economic Cooperation Since 1945,* published by The Church Peace Union.

[3] Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U. S. Senate—*Mutual Security Act of 1956,* pp. 32, 60.

recovery, then to resistance and rearmament. Now we are in a period, be it long or short, of reappraisal. But with all the changes, the purpose to help the underdeveloped countries in their struggle with poverty has remained. Let us see how this purpose manifests itself within our present Mutual Security Program.

2. WHAT IS THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM?

For the fiscal year 1957 (July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1957) it is a program of $3,766,570,000 coordinated by the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), a semi-autonomous organization within the State Department. This fund is to be spent for the following purposes:

(1) *Military Assistance.* This item calls for $2,017,500,000 which is used, for the most part, to buy weapons for some of our defense partners. Approximately 40% goes to seven countries—Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Pakistan, and Turkey; 20% to Western Europe, including Spain and Yugoslavia; and 20% for advanced weapons, warning systems, etc. for our allies. The remainder of the fund goes for other objects directly related to military defense.

(2) *Defense Support.* This item calls for $1,161,700,000. These funds supply goods and services to countries with which we have military agreements, to help them to provide the needed military forces, and at the same time maintain and develop their economies. It goes for ports, roads, transportation systems, industry, and mining. It may go for housing and other improvements. Our agricultural commodities can be moved into a country under defense support when this is desirable. The item also covers the cost of sending some five hundred U.S. technicians abroad, and of the training of some two thousand nationals in vocations which will serve their countries.

Ninety percent of the amount requested under defense support is to go to Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Pakistan, Turkey, Greece, and Iran. They are all underdeveloped countries.

(3) *Development Assistance.* This item of $250,000,000 in-

MISS KATHLEEN LOGAN receives His Imperial Highness Hailie Selassie at the Itegue Menen School of Nursing in Ethiopia.

cludes all forms of aid, except technical assistance, which go to countries with which we *do not* have military agreements. It supplies equipment and commodities which supplement technical assistance, and capital funds for economic development. Such funds are not provided when they can be supplied by private agencies or the U.S. Export-Import Bank or the World Bank. To the greatest possible degree they are supplied in the form of U.S. agricultural or other salable commodities, or in the form of long-term low interest loans.

In March of 1957 Congress in its resolution on the Eisenhower Doctrine designated $200 million, already appropriated, for use in the general area of the Middle East.

(4) *Technical Cooperation*, known also as Point 4, covers programs in which we share skills and knowledge with "newly-developing areas" of the world. We have programs of this type in eleven countries, and five independent territories of the Near East and Africa, fourteen countries of Asia, and nineteen countries in

Latin America. Our contributions to the Expanded Technical Assistance Program of the UN and of the Organization of American States are listed here, as well as our own programs, which are bilateral.

Under this heading are to be provided the cost of over 4300 U.S. technicians to be sent abroad, and the training of some 5700 foreign participants. Contracts with many American universities for the services of their teachers abroad are to be continued. Last year fifty-two American universities were at work in thirty-six countries under such contracts. And technicians and scholars from many foreign universities were brought here to work and study.

The amount for technical cooperation this year is $152,000,000.

There are other items in the Mutual Security Program such as those for the United Nations Children's Fund, the funds for escapees, refugees, etc. (The appropriation for these items, administrative expenses, etc. is $185,370,000.) But the four main items emphasized above cover 95% of the total appropriation. They enable us to see how massive and complicated the program is, and how it reflects the emergencies created by events of the last decade, as well as what we may hope will prove long-range and abiding concerns.

3. WHAT HAS THE PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHED?

Assuming that the Program is in the national interest, one of the tests of its effectiveness is its impact on countries which have received a substantial measure of its benefits. As the weight of the European Recovery Program (ERP) was on Western Europe, the weight of the Mutual Security Program (MSP) is on underdeveloped countries which are frontier fortresses of the free world as it faces Soviet Russia. Of the countries noted above as the recipients of Military Assistance and Defense Support, we use Turkey for the purposes of illustration.

We use Turkey because of its outstanding importance in the defense of the free world against Russian expansion, and because from the day in 1947 when the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed, we have acknowledged that importance. We use Turkey also be-

cause, according to Professor W. W. Rostow, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it is one of the hitherto underdeveloped countries where a momentum has been generated that is likely to carry the country over the divide that separates economic immaturity from economic competence in the use of its resources.[4] The fact that the writer was able to spend four months of 1955 in Turkey is an additional reason for using it.

Turkey

Turkey is a country of about 23 million people, which faces Russia across the Black Sea and 491 miles of common border. It has fought twelve wars with Russia during the last three hundred years. In March 1945, Russia told Turkey that it would not renew the twenty-year pact of Soviet-Turkish friendship, and that it wanted Turkey to cede to Russia the provinces of Kars and Ardahan and share with Russia the control and defense of the Dardanelles.[5] The Turks knew that this was an utterly frank warning that they were on the way to becoming another Russian satellite, such as Bulgaria and Hungary.

They called to us for help and we gave it. We have contributed since 1947 over $500 million in economic aid to Turkey, besides several hundred million in military aid. Today Turkey has twenty well-trained and equipped divisions whose fighting quality no one doubts. Among the fifteen NATO nations, the country ranks fifth in military expenditures, though it is thirteenth in per capita income.[6] The morale of the country as a fortress of free world defense is high.

Visitors to Turkey from the West are even more likely to be impressed by the country's economic and cultural advance. According to President Celal Bayar's address at the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in the fall of 1956, agricultural income in 1955 was $2,708,571,000 as against $1,597,143,000 in 1950, a rise of 69%.[7] And this in spite of crop failures and drought.

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[4] In an address before The Fourth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, Washington, February 12, 1957.

[5] From *Turkey*, the Country Series, published by FOA, Washington.

[6] *News from Turkey*, published by the Turkish Information Office, April 26, 1956.

[7] *News from Turkey*, November 15, 1956.

There were in Turkey in 1956, 19,122 primary schools, enrolling 2,116,000 pupils as against 12,511 primary schools, enrolling 1,460,000 pupils in 1950. And the deaths from TB had fallen since 1950 from 150 to 78 per hundred thousand, thanks to an enlarged program of X-Ray examinations and inoculations.

One can easily find other facts to confirm President Bayar's hopefulness about his country. Production of chrome has doubled since 1948. Three times as much farm equipment and supplies have been furnished Turkish farmers during the five years beginning with 1950 as during the five years that preceded that date. Paper production totalled 49,500 short tons in 1955 as against 18,400 tons in 1949. The industrial production index based on 100 for the year 1948 reached 177 in 1955, and private enterprise was responsible for a large share of the output.

The over-all picture of Turkey is not entirely assuring. The great riots against the Greeks in Istanbul and Izmir in September 1955, left a stain on the good name of a great people. Inflation has been hard to stop. The bureaucracy has been difficult to modernize. There have been curbs on public discussion and freedom of the press hardly in keeping with democratic aims.

Nevertheless, when one considers how far Turkey has come since the inauguration of the Republic on October 29, 1923, under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the word "momentum," as used by Professor Rostow to describe what has been going on in Turkey, does not seem inappropriate. The country is on the march. Any visitor can see what is happening to the roads, which when capable of year-round use reduce the cost of transportation from a dollar per ton-mile by oxcart to seven cents per ton-mile by truck. He can go to the reclamation areas, and he can watch the progress of irrigation. He can compare the camel train resting by the roadside with the tractors at work in the fields and draw his own conclusions as to which of the two worlds thus represented is advancing and which standing still. He can contrast the old Arabic type characters of the tombstones with the Latin type letters of the newspapers. He can observe the coming of women into the professions and their entrance into public life. Above all he can feel an eagerness of the people for education that is almost pathetic.

The Turkish people, of course, are responsible for this advance,

but the U.S. Mutual Security Program has contributed to it. (Development Assistance through capital grants and loans we shall consider in the next two chapters.)

Technical Cooperation (Point 4)

As a feature of "impact" country-wide programs represented by those in Turkey, Iran, Korea, and Taiwan, as well as of many separate projects in many countries, our government has continued and expanded the technical assistance type of activity begun by it in Latin America in 1942.

We ought to know more of the dedicated people who have served both their own country and mankind in this type of work in underdeveloped lands. We would mention two who in 1956 and 1957 have received the Arthur S. Flemming Award, presented annually in Washington to young men who have performed outstanding work for the Federal Government. They are the first members of the ICA and its predecessor agencies to be so honored.

One of them is Dr. Harold S. Frederiksen, who worked out a comprehensive public health program for the Azerbaijan area in Iran, which has a population of over four million. Dr. Frederiksen was responsible for a mass campaign against smallpox, which succeeded in vaccinating over two hundred thousand people, terminating an epidemic. He also developed a wall spraying program which lessened the health hazards of one million persons, and greatly reduced the incidence of malaria.

The other recent recipient of the Flemming Award is Dr. Samuel C. Adams, Jr., who has been described as "perhaps the greatest single human influence" shaping the program of free education in Cambodia. Dr. Adams developed a teacher training program, which has been a factor in the growth of the number of children receiving primary schooling from 38,637 in 1947 to 241,473 in 1956. He has also helped Cambodians create an educational system marked by practicality, which includes technical, scientific and mechanical studies, and which opens the door for youth to careers in agriculture, trade and commerce as well as the liberal professions.

High on any list of such dedicated people is Miss Kathleen

Logan, who went out in 1942 to Ecuador to set up for that country its first school of nursing. Miss Logan had been born of missionary parents, who had taken her when she was very young to Argentina. She knew Spanish and she understood the people of Latin America among whom she had grown up. Miss Logan put the school in Ecuador on such a good foundation that it is now operating entirely under Ecuadoran authority. She has gone on to establish a similar school in Ethiopia, where she has the active support of the Emperor Hailie Selassie and the Empress.

We have mentioned a few names. I like to think of them as representing a far-flung group of our fellow-citizens at work in many lands. They are often lonely, and often baffled by problems they do not know how to solve. They are where they are in an effort to give concrete expression to the national purpose, voiced by the highest authorities in our country, to help the free peoples of the earth in their struggle for a better life.

4. GIVING AND/OR GAINING

How shall we appraise a program of such vast scope and varied design?

There are those to whom it is a gigantic "give-away." They are matched at the other extreme by those to whom it is not enough of a "give-away," who almost lament that we appear as a nation to get benefits from it. There are the communists who see it all as a calculated scheme to pull other nations into the orbit of American imperialism. The people at home who say constantly "you can't buy friendship" agree with the communists that this is what we are trying to do, only they think we are failing, while the communists are afraid we are succeeding.

These are warped views of the actualities of the situation. We are not out seeking dependencies or satellites. Our history sets us against this. Charles Evans Hughes spoke for that history when, as Secretary of State, he said, "our interest does not lie in controlling foreign peoples; that would be a policy of mischief and disaster." Basically we want to "work with," not "take over."

This means that in such a program as that of Mutual Security, we believe that we are both giving and gaining, that we are serv-

ing the interests of the nations that we help and our own national interest. In the most precise sense, it is a two-way street.

Military Advantages

Those who administer this program are prepared to defend it on the most realistic grounds. Some of these grounds are military.

The argument runs like this. We are helping nations who want to remain free, to develop forces that will be effective in maintaining that freedom. Of the expense for these forces our foreign partners have borne far the greater portion. Mr. John B. Hollister, Director of ICA, tells us that the total sum spent for defense by our European allies from 1949 to 1955 was about $72 billion. Of this amount $10 billion represents U.S. aid. In other words, the NATO countries (except Greece and Turkey) have paid about 85% of their total defense expenditure.[8]

Moreover, what we are getting for free world defense by sharing in this expense is far more than we would be getting if our contribution to our foreign partners was paid for additional U.S. forces. For while it costs $6600 a year to maintain a U.S. soldier overseas without his weapons, because of the difference in wages it costs only $789 to maintain an allied soldier overseas with his weapons.[9]

Our partners in free world defense are being aided in developing ground forces to the extent of over two hundred divisions. (The U.S. has twenty divisions.) Yet "the entire annual cost to the United States of military assistance to thirty-six partners is less than one-tenth the cost of United States annual domestic defense expenditure."[10]

Economic Advantages

The economic benefits to ourselves of our program abroad are just as tangible as the military benefits. Of the approximately $30.4 billion spent abroad under this program from 1948 to June

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[8] Hearings before House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Eighty-fourth Congress Second Session. On H. R. 10082, p. 37.

[9] Statement by Congressman John M. Vorys before Fourth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development. Washington, Feb. 12, 1957.

[10] *Mutual Security Program for 1957*, p. 21.

WATER FOR IRAN:
The old . . .

. . . and the new. Open channels of dirty water are replaced by Point Four-sponsored deep well projects, which bring clean water to the villages of Iran.

"The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." **A centuries-old dream is realized with the aid of the United States Operations Mission to Iran, as the waters of the Kuhrang River are diverted to irrigate thousands of acres of farmland.**

30, 1956, 77% went directly to American farmers and business men. Of the remaining 23%, practically all of it was spent by suppliers abroad for American products, and came back eventually to our farmers and businessmen.[11]

Moreover, our assistance, so largely in the form of American products, starts economic chain reactions of permanent significance to the United States. Africa is full of minerals, iron, copper, uranium, wolframite, manganese, etc. The magneto meter surveys demonstrate this fact. The difficulty in developing these resources is mainly a matter of transportation. Burma has iron that assays 70%. Indonesia has copper, iron, chrome, and nickel in large quantities. Our country stands in growing need of such raw materials as are being or may be produced in the underdeveloped countries. The crisis over Middle Eastern oil simply dramatizes the economic interdependence of the developed and underdeveloped areas of the world which will grow rather than diminish.

Intangible Advantages

The greatest benefits of this program are to be found in what it means to the free world community in terms of greater security, peace, prosperity, and freedom. These benefits flow back upon the United States in a thousand ways.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of all is what it does to us as individuals to be concerned for the future of our race, and to find definite and practical ways of expressing that concern. The stretching of the mind and the enrichment of feeling that come from this concern work to transform every life it touches.

Attacks on the Program

It is difficult to attack the Mutual Security Program on military or economic grounds.[12] Some of its opponents, accordingly, are shifting their position to attack it on the ground of its wastefulness. That is the line taken in a recent Congressional report on

[11] Press Release, ICA No. 235, October 29, 1956.

[12] The most cogent criticism of the economics of our program is by internationally-minded economists. They tell us that the restrictions imposed on the program to assure the spending of the money in the United States is penny-wise and pound-foolish. If we allowed more of our contribution to filter into other countries through off-shore procurement, it would start chain reactions of trade that in the long run would profit us more.

the program in Iran. The Committee making the report does not consider the aims of the program or the emergencies it had to meet. It simply says that the program was administered in a "loose, slipshod and unbusinesslike manner."

No one can object to a review of these programs. One may rightly object when in such a review the forest is lost in the trees. The aim of the program in Iran was to maintain the freedom of the country and to make it secure against conquest by or subservience to Russia. It sought to realize this aim through technical assistance efforts to help the Iranian people to a better life, and through emergency grants and loans at critical junctures to keep the government on its feet. And the junctures were critical. The local communist party threatened to take over and hundreds were killed in riots in the streets.

Doubtless the bookkeeping was not all it might have been in less turbulent times, and in any case "impact" country-wide programs are particularly vulnerable to investigations of this type. But let us not forget that these programs are put on in border countries which literally live "under the gun." The important thing is that Iran has been developing in the use of its freedom, the Russians did not take over, and World War III did not start in the Iranian disturbances of '52-'53.

It may be well to remember, if we are to keep this whole program in the right perspective, that even if everything was wasted that we spent in Iran in '51-'55, (about $200 million exclusive of loans), and obviously, it was not all wasted, the cost to us was less than that of one day of World War II (about $212 million).[13]

5. SOURCES OF CONFUSION

A more serious issue concerns our program of aid to other countries, as a whole. There are two sources of confusion here.

One arises from the variety of aims our program is designed to realize: military assistance, emergency political stabilization, long-range economic development, and technical assistance.

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[13] *Information Please Almanac* (1949) p. 208 gives the cost of World War II to us as $349,778,608,870. *Facts on File* (1948) breaks down a little higher figure $353 billion plus, to $2,460 a second which is over $212 million a day.

These aims may all be justifiable, but when they are brought together, they give a blurred picture to the public, to the Congress, to some who are conducting the program, and to the countries being aided. Congress has also attached various conditions to the program so that the President himself pleads for more flexibility. And the emergencies that have arisen since 1949 have made the whole program seem at times like simply another weapon in the Cold War.

The issue here, to go back to the parable with which we began, is that of the house divided. The danger is that what seems like confusion in the aims of our government will become a conflict in the minds of the people whom we send out to represent us in the far corners of the earth. If their minds become a house divided, no amount of money will make our program to help others succeed. What began as a life-giving stream may end as a marsh.

The second source of confusion is found in the aims and spirit of the top administrators. No one can expect a multi-purpose agency, like the ICA, to relate every means to every end. But administrators should be able to distinguish needs arising from emergencies from long-time permanent needs. It is to the meeting of long-time permanent needs that Presidents Truman and Eisenhower have summoned us. As *The New York Times* put it editorially, the Russians did not invent flies—the symbols of the misery and poverty that would be here whether the Russians and the communists were here or not.

If the top administrators of our program to help the underdeveloped countries are deeply committed to it and have "enlisted for the duration," Congress will know it, the world will know it, and the morale of those who operate the program will be high.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are we justified in requesting military commitments in return for foreign aid? Should the country aided be necessarily a democracy? Under what conditions might we be justified in aiding a communist country? Should any "strings" be attached to our aid?
2. What improvements would you suggest for the technical assistance program of the United States?
3. Are our growing responsibilities abroad making us an imperialistic nation, whether we wish it or not? Are we in danger of "throwing our weight around"? A critic of Americans abroad says they are characterized by "the unconscious arrogance of conscious power." How can we avoid making this impression?
4. We talk about exporting our goods and services. What about our ideas? Are they not worth still more? How can we share our ideas with people abroad? Which ideas, influential here, are most likely to create enthusiasm abroad?

. V .

Problems by the Million

We have seen how the concern fostered by individuals and voluntary groups for helping the underdeveloped regions of the earth, has penetrated the policies of governments. We have noted evidences of this concern in the work of the United Nations and other international organizations, and in the Mutual Security Program of the United States. We must now look at some of the problems that have emerged in the effort to give this concern substantial expression.

1. WHICH AGENCIES SHALL WE USE?

One issue thrust upon us by our discussion thus far is—which agencies shall be the channels for help to the underdeveloped countries? This is the issue of private vs. governmental agencies, and among governmental agencies, it is the issue of those operating by multilateral vs. those operating by bilateral agreements.

Missions

We assume that few would deny the value of the private agencies. The sheer amount of technical assistance provided by them is impressive. Mr. Arthur F. Raper of ICA quotes a figure of over $37 million as expended during 1950 upon technical assistance activities by U.S. major Protestant missionary groups.[1] This is a larger amount than the expenditures of the UN Expanded Technical Assistance Program in any year up to the present time. It is more than twice the annual contribution of the United States to the UN Program.

[1] *Community Development Bulletin No. 2*, September, 1956, Pub. by the International Cooperation Administration, p. 31.

The influence of the missions grows out of the character of the missionary. His motives must include that of helping people for their own sake, because their worth in the sight of God is equal to his own. He enlists for a protracted stay in his chosen field, often for a lifetime. He learns the language and customs of the people, and often becomes their interpreter and champion. When all fair criticism of missions has been assimilated, there appears no substitute for the religiously motivated person who goes out to an underdeveloped country and puts in his life at the grass roots for the glory of God and the improvement of the lot of his fellowmen.

Foundations

The foundations enjoy exceptional advantages in contributing to certain types of work discussed here. Dean Rusk of the Rockefeller Foundation pointed out some of these advantages in his President's report of 1954. Among these advantages he listed the fact that the foundations can commit funds to a project over a long period, it can use these funds with flexibility in following promising leads, it can risk failure and need not show immediate and dramatic results, it can offer lifetime careers to those who combine expert knowledge with understanding of foreign environments, and it can secure unusual cooperation for it need not work in one place rather than another.

The foundation, in its sphere, that of expert service in special projects, is one of the most efficient means of channeling help to underdeveloped countries.

United Nations

The United Nations, through its technical assistance activities, embodies the formal recognition by the participating governments that to aid peoples struggling against poverty is their common task as governments. In this fellowship of nations, each nation may appear both as a recipient of aid and as a donor. The humblest nation may present its appeal for assistance, not as a matter of favor but as a matter of right, and have it appraised in comparison with the appeals of other nations. The experts of the UN are drawn from all countries. And the operations of the pro-

grams are exposed to the scrutiny of all countries. As one UN expert said to the writer, "We carry on UN technical assistance in a gold-fish bowl."

In this type of work by the UN peace is being filled with a positive content. Here is a slight hint of what the nations might do together if they could turn their attention to constructive tasks and away from the dangers of mutual destruction. Here is one of the great pioneering ventures of the human spirit. As far as the agencies represented in TAB are concerned, the greatest question is, how much are the member nations willing to put into their work.

U. S. Mutual Security Program

The distinguishing feature of the U.S. program is that it makes possible a large-scale many-sided approach to the task of building up the economy of an underdeveloped country. In Turkey, Iran, Korea, and Taiwan, for instance, we can see what such a program involves. It has a dimension of breadth, a number of different aspects of the economic and social life of the country being affected. Health, agriculture, schools, industry, roads and transportation, power developments and civil service—all are involved. The program has also a vertical dimension. It must be rooted in situations where people make their living, which has usually meant the work of the village and the farm. But it must reach up into the work of government, for without honest and competent public administration, no large-scale improvement is likely to be permanent.

Everyone interested in comprehensive programs of assistance to underdeveloped countries may well study the effects of such programs as they have been fostered by the United States. They will discover that these programs have in them many values. They also incur dangers. The weighing of the values over against the dangers is a part of the process of governmental reappraisal to which foreign aid programs are subjected.

Our Own Question

If we turn now to the question—what agencies shall we use in helping the underdeveloped countries?—it is clear that we have

good reasons for using the private agencies for all that they can do. Indeed, they seem indispensable. At the same time, there is no escape from the need for programs operated on the government level. The task of helping these countries is too vast, it has too many aspects, its requirements in terms of personnel and funds are too large, and its urgency is too great, to excuse governments from responsibility. The experience of the Western nations in their domestic affairs shows that in any comprehensive attack on the evils of poverty, governments must play a major part.

On the issue as to whether governments should take the multilateral approach (as through the UN), or the bilateral approach (as through the Mutual Security Program) to the task we are discussing, there is more difference of opinion. A strong case for withdrawing as much as possible from bilateral and for concentrating on multilateral efforts to meet the needs of the underdeveloped countries has been made by Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, a man with an unusually rich experience in international organization and sociological investigation.[2]

Myrdal believes that the relatively stagnant and in many places deteriorating condition of vast underdeveloped areas of the earth is of major concern to the Western nations. He points out that the Marxist theory of the rich getting richer and the poor poorer in capitalist countries has been contradicted in the West on the domestic front. The forces of national solidarity and democracy have set in motion powerful influences that have nullified the theory. But the theory seems to be working out on the international front. The people of the underdeveloped countries are proving to be the real proletarians of Marx.[3] Myrdal holds that a great effort should be made to lift the level of life of these countries, and that this means nothing less than a world effort.

Such is the background of Myrdal's preference for multilateral effort by governments rather than bilateral. He argues that only through the multilateral approach can the country receiving help be insulated to some degree from political pressures;

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[2] Gunnar Myrdal, *An International Economy*. (Harper and Bros., 1956), p. 124f.

[3] Myrdal, pp. 2, 323.

PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIER TO FOREIGN AID: Cooperation and manual labor help to break down ancient caste prejudices in India.

and only in this way will other nations besides the United States be drawn in to take their proper share in the assistance program.

He objects also to bilateral aid, especially as handled by the United States, because this method makes a humane enterprise subservient to strategic requirements of the Cold War. In the competition of moral and economic motives with military, he believes the latter will win out. He fears that with this method, our aid will be put more and more on a purely emergency basis.

He regards the relationship between donor and recipient as a very insecure one. It builds up so many resentments that he doubts whether the U.S. will continue aid on this basis. The U.S. will be worn down by what looks like ingratitude on the part of those who have gotten help.

Accordingly, he does not believe that the bilateral approach furnishes a foundation for the comprehensive permanent policy of building up the underdeveloped countries that their situation requires.

Before we go all out for Myrdal's argument, let us note two statements that he makes. One is the conclusion he reaches in his recent great study of the international economy. It is to the effect that "in the present stage of history nations in the non-Soviet world are not prepared in peacetime to accept the degree of international human solidarity which would make possible progress towards international economic integration." The other statement is an observation that "the political split [between the free world and the Soviet world] and the Cold War are such huge historical entities that the hypothetical situation in the world, if they were absent, cannot be ascertained."[4]

Those who defend the U.S. bilateral approach to the underdeveloped countries could hardly find a better theoretical basis for what they are trying to do than Myrdal's two quoted statements. They could say that this country is sincerely interested in the great task the Swedish economist presents as the task of the world in our time. The declarations of our Presidents and our actions in helping other peoples reveal that interest.

But the nations are not ready to go altogether to multilateral aid, and the Cold War is a fact. So we are trying to maintain the freedom of the peoples on the borders of the Soviet world. We are on call for emergencies, whether we want to be or not. And at the same time we want to push forward by our own efforts and in cooperation with others the permanent upbuilding of the underdeveloped countries.

This is about where the situation stands today. Myrdal's argument will continue to trouble many thoughtful people. But a large-scale movement from bilateral to multilateral efforts in this field waits on the coming of a more favorable international climate.

This brings us to another question.

2. HOW IS MORE INVESTMENT CAPITAL TO REACH THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES?

We are assuming here the truth of a statement by Myrdal that "capital does not flow to underdeveloped countries in amounts

[4] Myrdal, p. 315.

that are in any reasonable proportion to the general development needs of the world."[5] Some of the factors responsible for this situation we in the United States may be able to change. Others we can affect only remotely. Our first task is to find out what the sources of the existing flow of capital are.

In February, 1956, the Committee on Economic Development (CED) published a tabulation by its research staff of the flow of long-term investment funds from the United States and Western Europe to independent non-communist underdeveloped countries.[6] The tabulation was as follows:

	$ millions
From: United States	*Annual Rate*
Mutual Security Program	415
Export-Import Bank (net)	72
Private long-term investment (net)	500
World Bank (net)	98
Western Europe (net)	50
Total	1,135

The "net" in the tabulation above represents the excess of outgoing capital funds over incoming repayments, repatriation of capital from underdeveloped countries, etc. It does not take into account investments by European powers in their dependent territories, and in any case the figures change from year to year. What we have here are the main sources upon which the underdeveloped countries must rely for investment capital and an estimate, subject to correction, of the annual net outflow of such funds.

Let us consider some of the possibilities of increasing the flow of capital from these sources.

Private investment is one of the most important sources of such capital. Our government has been seeking to increase the investment of private funds abroad through agreements which protect our investors against discriminatory legislation and from losses through expropriation, and the conversion of currencies. Only a few countries thus far have been willing to negotiate these agreements. The CED believes that a substantial reduction of

[5] Myrdal, p. 118.

[6] *Economic Development Abroad and the Role of Foreign Investment*, CED, New York, 1956, p. 46.

CHILDREN OF THE MIDDLE EAST: Two of UNICEF's clients.

taxes from investments abroad would encourage the outward flow of investment funds. But any marked increase of private investments in the underdeveloped countries is dependent upon the increase in the political stability of those countries.

Our Mutual Security Program is another important source of investment capital. It has helped materially in the development of the border countries which we described earlier as fortresses of the free world, standing over against the communist world. But our concentration on these countries has perhaps made us neglect others. The CED report points out that into the entire re-

gion of southeastern Asia from Pakistan and India on the west to the Philippines and Indonesia on the east, an area containing 600 million people, our Government and the World Bank together have been putting only $90 million a year in public investment funds.[7] The development of this area, where the standard of living is prevailingly low, is of great importance from the humanitarian point of view. The fact that the Russians are beginning to penetrate the area economically with technical assistance and trade offers makes it also of strategic importance. (We do not discuss here investments by the Export-Import Bank, which is an arm of our government, or by Western Europe.)

It is to the World Bank, as one of the UN family of agencies, that many look when they think of increasing the flow of investment capital to the underdeveloped countries. The World Bank is a most useful institution, but as a source for these funds it has limitations. It loans only to governments and to private borrowers under government guarantees. It markets its own securities, and its loans are extended, accordingly, in conformity with accepted standards of good banking. Thus far it has put money into over five hundred projects in forty-four countries.[8] It loaned $2,645,000,000 during its first ten years ('46-'56) without a default.[9] The poor country borrows at the same rate of interest as the rich. The surveys of the Bank, which are characterized by a hard look at the economies of borrowing countries, are of tremendous value to these countries in helping them determine their economic policies. Many countries will take advice from the Bank as an international institution when they would not take advice from a single country, particularly a rich one.

It is what the Bank stands for as a symbol of success in international finance that makes it a kind of rallying point as people seek a way to increase the flow of capital to the parts of the world that need it most.

What the members of the United Nations are trying to do now is to go beyond the Bank and set up financial institutions without

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[7] CED, p. 30.

[8] From lecture by Morgan S. Mendels, Secretary of the World Bank, at the New School of Social Research, New York, November 15, 1956.

[9] *The New York Times*, June 24, 1956, Section 3, p. 1.

the Bank's limitations which will encourage the flow of capital to these areas. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) is one of these institutions. It came into existence in 1956. It will make loans for the most part to industrial enterprises (without government guarantees) and in areas where industry is less advanced. It seeks deliberately to encourage the participation of private investors as partners in the development of these areas.

But the IFC, like the World Bank, will sell its securities, and to do so, it must prescribe terms for its loans that the international market for securities will respect. This leaves the field of grants and long-term low-interest loans to take care of non-self-liquidating projects for promoting better health, education, transportation, etc., still unoccupied by any international agency.

SUNFED

It is this field that a large number of UN members want to have occupied by the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). The proposal has been under discussion by the General Assembly for many years. The idea has been endorsed by the General Assembly, on the understanding that such a fund might come into being when sufficient savings have been achieved through internationally supervised world-wide disarmament. At first the thought was that SUNFED would cost about $2 billion a year (to which the United States would contribute a substantial proportion). The present talk is of a possible fund of $250 million a year, which would help countries in special need make some basic improvements.

The United States and the United Kingdom have thus far opposed the establishment of SUNFED, and without their support it has little chance to succeed. The objections are of two kinds. One objection is that Congress would never appropriate the billions necessary to do a world-wide development job if the spending of the funds were left to the exclusive control of the United Nations. If a smaller sum is contemplated, something like $250 million a year, then another objection arises—is this enough to do any good? A small fund with a world-wide demand for it could create dissension rather than harmony among the nations when it came to be parceled out.

A Crucial Issue

It is possible that we face here one of the pivotal issues of our world today—an issue as important in its ultimate outworking as the decision to initiate the Marshall Plan. It is the issue whether there shall be an international agency through which the nations can do something cooperatively to meet the capital needs which the proponents of SUNFED describe.

The situation will not remain static. The gap between the economic levels of the developed and the underdeveloped countries is widening, not narrowing. Communists are insisting that only through their method can capital be squeezed out of the people of the underdeveloped countries for the industrial advances these countries want to make.

Moreover, the improvements that SUNFED is designed to facilitate are necessary if there is to be a foundation on which private capital, the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank, and IFC can build self-sustaining enterprises.

It is possible that this country has not said its last word on SUNFED.[10] *The New York Times* remarked editorially on February 1, 1957:

> It is supposed that Washington is not satisfied with the form SUNFED is taking. If this is the case why not bring out a better plan? We are not poor in money or generosity. Why should we be so poor in faith, courage and compassion that we must wait for general disarmament before we join with our UN neighbors to do some helpful things that politics and other reasons keep us from doing unilaterally?

The issue raised by SUNFED is here. It appears to open up an opportunity to push or pull other nations, especially other Western nations, into a substantial effort to help the underdeveloped countries with capital funds.

3. BOTTLENECKS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

After the technicians have been appointed and the capital has been allotted for helping an underdeveloped country, the most serious problems of its economic betterment may have still to be

[10] *Cf.* discussion of Millikan-Rostow Plan in Chapter VI.

faced. In many of these countries representatives of the West find a production-for-use economy, not a production-for-sales-money-profit economy. The whole scheme of values centering in the family, the village or the tribe, in which security, position, companionship, and the sense of belonging are of more importance than cash, may make indigenous peoples apathetic to appeals to "get ahead" in the Western sense. The transition from the one type of economy to the other which takes place as a country industrializes requires more than one generation. It is at best a difficult and painful process. Many millions of people are today in a transitional state, with old value systems disintegrating while new ones have not been established.[11]

The social structure, the relations of classes and castes, of feudal land-owners and peasants, of money-lenders and debtors, may be stubborn obstacles in the way of economic development. The people may have identified the government, which has invited the foreign technicians in, with tax-collection and the labor service that the people are compelled to render. They may feel that government is something to be feared rather than something interested in their welfare. Among members of the dominant social class, there may be a prejudice against manual labor. Participation in commercial and industrial activities may be affected by a social stigma. The kind of education the leaders have frequently had has educated them away from the type of work which must be done if there is to be economic improvement in their country.

In any case, there will be few businessmen of the kind that has built up the industries of the West, and the lack of a competent civil service will be a serious handicap. In some countries the intellectuals, trained for the professions, instead of giving constructive leadership, express their frustrations in anti-foreign or communist agitation.

The upshot of the matter is that what began as a plan for improving the economy of a country may require for its realization hardly less than a social revolution. As Harlan Cleveland, formerly director of the China office for UNRRA, puts it: "Each

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[11] *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy*, Published by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association. (Henry Holt, 1955), p. 142f.

modern gadget has to be encased in the institutions that make it work." Health and education have to be improved, new systems of land tenure and new credit arrangements have to be created, political enlightenment has to dawn, before a country can break through its bottlenecks into a way of life that enables it to use the modern means of economic betterment to an advantage. Without such social changes, the country cannot use the advice of technicians sent to it, nor can it employ effectively the capital offered it.

Harlan Cleveland illustrates how a social change is necessary to effect an economic change by the experience of the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction in China (JCRR). The Commission had been trying to help Chinese farmers increase rice yields. The farmers did not seem interested. The Americans found that they were not interested because the landlords, money-lenders, middlemen and tax-collectors got all the increase. When the Nationalists went to Taiwan (Formosa), the JCRR went along. There they succeeded in bringing down the rent required of the farmer from 50-60% of the crop to 37.5%. At once the farmers began to inquire about fertilizers, better seed, and other improvements. Formosa today is producing more rice than it did even under the pressure of Japanese efficiency.[12]

4. OTHER PROBLEMS

We have made but a beginning in even listing the issues that must be faced when we turn our minds to helping the peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the earth. There are so many of these problems that perhaps in a petulant mood we suggested as a title for this chapter "Problems by the Million."

We have said nothing of the psychological problems that grow out of the fact that so many peoples of so many cultures are being pressed up against one another by modern transportation and communication. Somehow they must learn how to live together. The psychological forces set in motion by these contacts condition all the activities we have been discussing. The question

[12] H. Cleveland, "Foreign Aid and 'the Spirit We are Of,'" *The Reporter*, June 28, 1956, p. 16.

of how these forces operate and how far they are subject to man's control would itself require many books.

Then there are the perils one discerns on a still wider horizon: the peril of war; the peril of over-organization in the effort to prepare for war so that all that is truly human is in danger of being squeezed out of people; the peril of over-population, especially in the underdeveloped countries, which would nullify so many gains.

But we must count our gains as well as our perils: the decisive turning of the Western nations from the seductions of dictatorship, fascist and communist; the great awakening of the last decade to basic human needs in vast areas of the earth; the invention of governmental instrumentalities, national and international, for meeting these needs.

There are perils, but the perils themselves bring a challenge to creation.

Our Comfort

Our comfort is, as we contemplate "man's new hope," that men in other generations have caught glimpses of great hopes beset by perils, yet have chosen to seek the realization of their hopes rather than the avoidance of the perils. One of those men wrote 2nd Esdras in the Old Testament Scriptures (Fourth Esdras in the Latin Vulgate, in the Apocrypha in Protestant Bibles). There is a conversation in this book, between Ezra and the Lord in which the prophet asks the Lord why the promises made to Israel seem so long in fulfillment. Here is the Lord's answer:

"Suppose a city is full of all good things but the approach to it is narrow and precipitous so that there is fire on the right hand and deep water on the left, and there is only one path lying between them, that is between the fire and the water so that the path can support the steps of only one man. Now if that city is given to a man as an inheritance, if the heir does not pass through the danger that lies before it, how can he receive his inheritance?"

Then Ezra says, "True, Sir." And the Lord continues, "Israel's destiny is like that."[13]

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[13] From *The Apocrypha,* Trans. E. J. Goodspeed, (University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 63.

Must we not say that the life of man is also like that? The city "full of all good things" ever lies at the end of a narrow and precipitous path winding between fire and water.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Which of the various channels for providing aid to underdeveloped countries seem most promising to you?
2. What can private enterprise by Americans abroad do for the countries where these business operations are located? Can you cite examples of constructive influences flowing out from such operations?
3. Is it likely that countries helped by us will be grateful to us? or friendly?
4. What problems in the field of foreign aid which we have not mentioned or have skimmed over lightly, seem to you quite important?
5. Are we making headway in social technology—in learning how to get along with one another—comparable to our advances in medicine, agriculture and industry?
6. Are there religious resources for guiding us in the field of social technology which we are not using?
7. How can religious groups stimulate among their members greater interest in and knowledge of the needs of underdeveloped countries? How can this interest be most usefully channeled?

. VI .

Toward a Community of Mankind

We must return to "our time in history" and deal with implications for our thought and action of some of the issues that have been before us. For a clue to what we have to do, we return also to President Eisenhower's words in his Second Inaugural:

> This is our home—yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies—with men of all peoples and all nations who are or would be free.

As we listen to such words, we may stand once more with our early American forefathers as they stood on the Atlantic seaboard and looked "beyond the ranges." We may feel something of what the audience must have felt as they heard Dr. Lyman Beecher make his plea for the West over one hundred years ago:

> But if this nation is, in the providence of God, destined to lead the way in the moral and political emancipation of the world, it is time she understood her high calling, and were harnessed for the work. For mighty causes, like floods from distant mountains, are rushing with accumulating power, to their consummation of good or evil.

Beecher was pleading with his church people of the East to evangelize the West, which was being rapidly opened up. His words may sound quaint to us now, but they were filled with the sense of national destiny that helped to make the America of our fathers.

It is that sense of destiny, born of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which has always viewed the present as pregnant with the future, to which the President has again chosen to appeal. And he has connected that destiny, as Lincoln often did, with the fate of men struggling for freedom around the world. Our destiny lies,

in the President's thought, in a deepening fellowship with "men of all . . . nations who are or would be free."

1. ACCEPT OUR DESTINY

May we suggest that the top priority among all the things we may do in helping the underdeveloped countries is the acceptance of some such conception of our destiny as the President has phrased for us. The most important things that will help these countries will probably be the things that happen in the minds of men and women in America. Here the decisions are likely to be made that will set our course and perhaps the course of the world for years to come. Here is the social, moral and spiritual frontier that must be crossed if we are to come to grips with the great tasks that must be accomplished if the underdeveloped areas of the planet are to become areas where people find freedom to grow and growth in freedom.

Why Our Destiny Seems Unreal

It is possible to say that the President has only put in words what our military and economic involvements in the world already imply. But it has been well for the President to make the connection between our home and our destiny, because while the facts about our involvement are true—they often seem true only in an abstract sense. This is partly because we are still men and women of the Ice Age and before. In spite of whole epochs of enlarging environments and cultural change, we are still creatures whose deepest attachments relate to small groups of our own kind to which we have a sense of belonging. Universality is still foreign to us.

Thousands of years in the hunting band and the primitive village have moulded our basic human nature. We respond as early men did to the crisis that threatens our "home" or the "homeland" which we have come slowly through the generations to identify with ourselves. To think about "destiny," however, and in peacetime, and as something related to strangers far away—that is difficult.

Yet the People Must Support Policy

But foreign policy when enlightened must be concerned with destiny, and in a democracy this policy must have the support of the people. Those who govern have to shape and state the policy so that the average man may feel that the things that matter most to him are ultimately involved. And the average man has to grow in comprehension so that he feels and understands things that at first seemed remote. It is not a source of wonder, however, considering our basic nature, as moulded by small-group experience, that the support of the people for foreign policies often seems fitful and uncertain, and that publicists, when they think of the people, often throw up their hands in despair.

The Role of Voluntary Organizations

It is in helping men and women to relate what is happening on the wide-circling boundaries of their destiny to what is of concern to them in the intimate life of their home, that voluntary organizations have a unique function. They can play the part of intermediaries, interpreting to the people at the grass-roots the peoples' wider interests, and interpreting to governments the wishes and feelings of the people.

2. RESPONSIBILITIES OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

This is certainly true of churches, synagogues, and all religious groups. They have this advantage in relating our home to our destiny, that they believe the intimate concerns and the wider interests stand alike within one moral order.

Their Primary Responsibility

Today, accordingly, they can show how the religious teachings with which our people are already familiar have a bearing on the help we may render the underdeveloped countries. A demonstration of this connection has been made quite clear in the following statement by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference through the Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J.[1]

[1] James L. Vizzard, S. J., "Foreign Policy and the Law of Charity." *World Alliance News Letter,* June, 1956.

The law of love, the law of charity in all great religions is stated tersely by Christ, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." . . . but the objection has often been raised that charity is the responsibility of the individual. Such an attitude ignores the fact that the state comes into being to fulfill for us collectively what we cannot do alone. In our vast world, we cannot reach all who need and have a claim on our charity, and thus the state acts as our agent. When it gives, it is ourselves giving.

Are such moral motives as love of neighbor of value in the activity of government we have been discussing? Again Father Vizzard says,

. . . love of neighbor and justice not only have validity, *even in terms of national interest,* but are motives for programs of aid which are more urgent, more far-reaching and of far greater value than any other motives. Moreover, these motives, if properly explained, could win much more sincere and practical approval here and abroad. Finally, programs undertaken for these motives are more likely to achieve, as by-products, the aims of our foreign policy.

I have quoted from this statement by Father Vizzard for two reasons. First, it makes clear to the churches and other religious groups that the programs of governments, such as we have been considering, can be expressions of the moral purposes which the churches cherish. What we do as individuals and as members of religious groups, and what governments do, are not separated morally in different compartments. The state does for us "what we cannot do alone. When it gives, it is ourselves giving."

Second, this statement implies that there is no ultimately adequate basis for programs of aid to the underdeveloped countries apart from the moral basis that is uncovered when we ask what do justice, goodwill, and love of neighbor require in our dealings with these countries. No calculation of military and economic advantage will in themselves sustain these programs. Unless these programs are rooted in the broad concern for the welfare of mankind, where they have been rooted by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, a concern that is continuously fostered by religious groups, these programs will pursue a sickly and ailing existence. We are not discounting the military and economic advantages. We have tried to point them out. But the motives they generate are not in themselves sufficient to equip with high-minded purpose those who go out to raise the level of life for a billion people.

A task as great as this never comes really into its own until it appeals to that which is deepest within us.

Religious groups have a primary responsibility to insist that policies designed to express the national interest should assume not only our legitimate self-interest, but our basic mutuality of interest with the free peoples of the earth.

Criticism

The religious groups can subject these programs, their assumptions, motives, methods, and results to searching study and criticism. They can ask such questions as the following (which we have not been able to ask in this book):

> Why is it so much easier to secure $40 to $50 billion a year to prepare to wage a war we hope we shall not have to fight, than to secure $1 billion for long-range economic development in waging the peace we want to preserve?
>
> What are the long-range effects of surrendering helplessly to the momentum of technological change? Is there possibly a "fall-out" from the technological explosion of the last generation that, like the "fall-out" from the hydrogen bomb, endangers the life of humanity? Are we, for instance, being driven on to exploit feverishly the raw materials of the underdeveloped countries to keep the economic pace going faster and faster?
>
> How can the naturally generous impulses of our people, so evident in emergencies, be channeled to give continuity to programs of partnership with underdeveloped countries?
>
> How far does the bellicose talk of public leaders and elements of the press nullify the constructive results of our assistance to peoples in need?

These are a few of the questions that may well be asked to keep the perspective of our programs in balance.

Careers Abroad

The religious groups can be of great help to those departments of our government interested in foreign service and foreign aid by encouraging young people to think of this type of life as a

career. Here I quote from a recent letter on this matter from a member of the International Cooperation Administration:

> Recruitment of qualified personnel for overseas positions is a major problem to our organization, and a problem in which the churches might well be of assistance. Without dedicated people who are willing to go overseas we cannot accomplish our objective of imparting American technical skills to the people of the underdeveloped countries, and without the influence of people dedicated to the service of God this program cannot succeed."

The author of this letter believes that not only missionary enterprises but the programs of our government in underdeveloped countries offer opportunities to religious-minded people to bear witness to the deep ethical concerns of their faith. A new profession is here being opened up. Some of our choicest young people should find their way into it.

Education

And the religious groups can educate children, youth, and adults, by formal and informal methods.

Here they will be building on and borrowing from the processes of education as they are going forward in public, parochial and private schools, as well as in other organizations.

The sense of the widening horizon of our destiny is penetrating education wherever it is being carried on. Some day in every school there will be studies on Asia, Africa and Latin America, along with the traditional courses on North America and Europe. Teen-age diplomats will move back and forth from homes and schools on one continent to homes and schools on another. The interdependence of the nations will be as important in social studies as our struggle for independence has been in school histories.

With such a background young people will be better prepared for the area studies now being developed in colleges and universities, which promise a better trained personnel for industry, government and the churches in overseas appointments.[2]

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[2] We are thinking of courses in non-Western civilizations for undergraduates in such institutions as Colgate and the University of Rochester, and primarily for graduates at Cornell, Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Yale, and the University of Washington.

The informal type of education in international affairs now being provided for adults in many organizations is as important as anything happening in formal education.

Parallel with these developments, the religious groups can foster among their constituents a universal outlook on the world and its moral and spiritual needs. That outlook is part of our Western religious heritage and it can be greatly magnified. The prophets and thinkers who broke through the boundaries of a narrow provincialism and exclusiveness can receive special attention. The leaders and teachers who sought to translate the ideal of a great human fellowship into new attitudes and customs can become our heroes.

Educational programs with such emphasis (to return to Father Vizzard's statement) can create a public mind favorable to broad as against narrow views of the "national interest." Across the generations the religious groups have been interested in the relief of suffering, the teaching of the illiterate, and the sharing of our substance with those in need around the world. They are certainly not an unimportant part of the nation whose interest government is to represent. Government has become a necessary means by which "we, the people" become partners with other peoples in a common quest for a better life for all of us. When we enter such a partnership we do not deny the national interest, we express it.

3. AN IDEA THAT TESTS POLICY

As the tendrils of connection between our "home" and our "destiny," fostered by religious and other voluntary organizations, grow up in the minds of men, these minds become ready for a general idea that makes sense out of our time and gives direction to our work. Chester Bowles has suggested such an idea in his *American Politics in a Revolutionary World.* After reviewing various ideas that have played a formative part in our history, he presents the idea which he believes is needed now to organize our life. "We must hope," he says, "that a new majority consensus will emerge which recognizes the fact that we live in a world

that is a community and which is prepared responsibly to support policies which flow from that premise."[3]

We have no desire to quibble over words, but our own conviction is that the world is not yet a community in a realistic sense. There is among men a sense of a common moral order. There are various technological bonds. And now we have a symbol of the world as a community in the United Nations.

But the polarity of the world dividing mankind between the free world and the communist world is a fact that also has tremendous influence on human conduct. Whether the common interest will save mankind from the destruction which threatens from the divisiveness of polarity, we do not know. Both of these interests are facts of life.

Nevertheless, we have to make a decision as to the direction in which we want to go. Here I believe Mr. Bowles has given us an important truth. He has suggested that we must use the idea of the world as a community as a premise for making policy. To us the world community is a goal rather than a present fact, but it is none the less important as a guide to action.

Without some such general idea as Mr. Bowles has suggested to serve as a "premise" (I prefer "test"), we shall not know what in the realm of major policies to favor and what to oppose. That is why we have chosen the title, "Toward a Community of Mankind," for this chapter. It gives us an idea of where we want to go—toward a world in which the entire human race, with its various cultures and national groups, is increasingly bound together in mutual respect, by ties of cooperative endeavor. We believe that President Eisenhower's words about our destiny point in this direction.

4. POLICIES THAT MAKE FOR A COMMUNITY OF MANKIND

Against the background of our previous chapters may we ask, what policies by governments in respect to the underdeveloped countries will help us to realize a community of mankind? We would commend the policies that provide for the following:

[3] *American Politics in a Revolutionary World,* (Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 98.

(1) *The largest practicable use of the UN and its agencies.* The humanitarian agencies of the UN which are coordinated for various technical assistance projects through TAB have passed the experimental stage. Progress has been achieved in harmonizing UN services with those of other agencies rendering similar services. A large and competent body of technicians recruited from many countries has been made available, and the demand for the services of the agencies has continually increased.

Most observers of the UN seem to agree that UN technical assistance is managed economically, and that the nations are getting their money's worth. Moreover, many thousands of people from many countries are learning on the various projects how to work together.

To do what the UN has been doing through the Expanded Technical Assistance Program has cost about $30 million a year, which is roughly equivalent to what New York City spends annually on its parks. If adequate supplies and equipment were provided and there were greater provision for demonstrations, a program of the present scope could use $50 million a year.[4] Beyond that figure only the amount provided would determine the program, for the needs are almost limitless.

Surely the eighty-one members of the UN should be able to provide $100 million a year for a program supervised by TAB.

(2) *A fund for long-range economic development of the underdeveloped countries, divorced from military or Cold War considerations.* Such a fund would have to make grants, or offer loans on easier terms than those available now through national, international or private agencies. The objective of the fund would be to help various underdeveloped countries get on to a basis where the momentum of their own advance in using their resources would begin to make an adequate supply of capital available.

This is the need that SUNFED was designed to meet. If we do not go into SUNFED, then this internationally managed capital fund will probably not come into existence. But the need will remain.

Max F. Millikan and W. W. Rostow, of the Massachusetts Insti-

[4] Report of TAB, *A Forward Look,* May 11, 1956, p. 47.

tute of Technology, have drawn up a plan which avoids some of the difficulties connected with SUNFED. They propose an international agency, closely associated with the World Bank, which could take over some of the Bank's present "functions of conducting country studies and reviewing over-all programs."[5] At this agency countries which need capital could secure an appraisal of their needs, also information as to possible sources of funds, private and public. The country seeking help could then approach the various suppliers of capital with the benefit of an independent estimate of the strength of its case.

Such an agency would retain the element of international partnership in the business of making grants and loans. It would make its recommendations on the basis of the promise of increased productivity and other economic considerations, and not on the basis of winning new allies in the struggle with communism. The Soviet Union would probably not wish to join this agency any more than it wished to join the World Bank.

Under this plan the suppliers of capital would remain what they are today. The U.S. would have to decide whether it would make additional funds available under this arrangement. Our authors believe that the underdeveloped countries could absorb about $3.5 billion of development funds per year beyond what they are receiving now. Of this additional amount the U.S. Treasury should be responsible for about $2 billion per year, of which 80% would be in loans.[6]

Would such a vigorous frontal attack on the capital needs of the underdeveloped countries "bankrupt" us? Two billion a year, if it were all in grants, not in loans, would be about one-sixth of the annual increase in our gross national product. Much of what we might make available would be in agricultural surpluses or other American products. And the effect on underdeveloped countries in making it clear that they do not need communism in order to get capital for development might be decisive in determining their future.

(3) *A much clearer distinction in our own Mutual Security*

[5] Max F. Millikan and W. W. Rostow, *A Proposal: Key to an Effective Foreign Policy,* (Harper & Bros., 1957), p. 120.

[6] Millikan and Rostow, p. 106.

Program between expenditures determined by emergency and military considerations and funds for permanent economic development and technical assistance. At present, as we pointed out in Chapter IV, there is confusion in many minds. Congressmen frequently have the impression that the administrators of the program want to taper it off. Actually, while the emergency and military parts of the program will, we hope, be tapering off, the parts concerned with long-time economic development ought to be enlarged. Unless we can find some way of separating these two aspects of the program, the public will remain confused and not be able to give the support to either part of the program that it may well merit.

The International Development Advisory Board, under the chairmanship of Eric Johnston, has recommended the establishment within the ICA of an International Development Fund, which would handle both technical assistance, and capital needs of the underdeveloped countries. It should be the sole U.S. agency dealing with long-term economic growth in these areas.[7]

We do not know how this would work out administratively, but we view the proposal sympathetically because it recognizes a problem that has been a baffling one.

(4) *International trade arrangements that serve the needs of the underdeveloped countries as well as those of the industrially advanced countries.*

Underdeveloped countries complain that the prices of the raw materials they furnish to the world market have with certain exceptions lagged behind the prices of the manufactured goods they import from advanced countries. There are various reasons for this situation, but one of them is the ability of the advanced countries to protect by tariffs their own producers from the competition of imports from abroad.

The underdeveloped countries have been able to get resolutions through the Assembly of the UN (as in 1952), asking governments to consider the effects of the trade measures they adopt "on the terms of trade of countries in the process of development," in the interest of securing an "adequate, just and equitable

[7] *The New York Times,* March 8, 1957, p. 12.

relationship" between the prices of primary commodities and manufactured goods.[8] The difficulty is that the interest in international welfare is so much weaker than the self-interest of the various producers of primary commodities inside the advanced nations. Such resolutions, accordingly, have thus far had little effect.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the situation. Professor Jacob Viner describes it very bluntly when he says: "We should not use foreign aid as conscience-money payments for our tariff. . . . A reduction of trade barriers . . . can be of greater benefit to other countries than all the much-advertised grants, loans and technical aid."[9]

The underdeveloped countries would also like to see the prices of raw materials made more stable. Economists agree that this would be in the interest of advanced countries as well. The problem here, accordingly, is that of developing international machinery that can achieve this end.

(5) *The removal at home of barriers based on race and color that tend to prevent real brotherhood.*

Years ago George Frederick Watts told us that "the hunger for brotherhood is at the bottom of the unrest of the modern civilized world." That same hunger is today at the bottom of the unrest in the underdeveloped countries. In them, as earlier among the depressed and disenfranchised classes of the West, this hunger manifests itself as a struggle for the equal dignity of persons.

The peoples of the underdeveloped countries have been the wards of colonial powers. They want their freedom. They have been dependent. They want independence. They are for the most part non-white. They want discrimination based on color and race done away.

Only then can they know real brotherhood as distinguished from patronage and pity.

This issue connects what we do at home with what we may be able to do abroad. What happens in Montgomery, Alabama, for instance, may have reverberations all over the world. Many see this. A Florida religious journal asks: "Are we as concerned for

[8] Myrdal, *An International Economy*, p. 236.
[9] Quoted in Myrdal, p. 290.

the Mexican in San Antonio as for the one in Mexico City . . . for the Indian on the Seminole reservation as for the one in South America . . . for the Negro in Jacksonville as for the one in Nigeria?"[10]

The moral and spiritual outcome of our program for helping the people of the underdeveloped countries may well be determined by what we do about race and color discrimination in our own country.

5. THE QUEST OF OUR GENERATION

We have come to a point from which we can see the road by which we have been travelling.

We have been impressed by the time in which we live and by the great technological revolution, which is one of its outstanding features. The possibilities of a more abundant material life have been opened up beyond all the imagining of the past. Along with the technological revolution in the Western nations, has come a psychological revolution among the peoples living in the underdeveloped areas of the earth—an uprush of awareness that there can be an improvement in the conditions of life for them and for their children.

It is the coincidence of these two revolutions that constitutes the pivotal fact of our time upon which the future turns.

We have described very briefly how the Western peoples who have known the benefits of the technological change have been trying to share these benefits with the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. Their efforts began in the activities of religious and other voluntary groups long before the Second World War. During the War and since, these efforts have been greatly enlarged through the work of governments acting through national and international agencies.

It is clear that the more we do, the more we see to do, and that there are opening up nothing less than continents of opportunity in which the peoples may work in partnership toward the

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[10] Quoted in an article by William A. Mueller, *Christianity Today*, February 18, 1957, p. 39.

goal of a better life in a world which may become a real community.

To contribute moral guidance, a humble and chastened temper, and spiritual encouragement to those seeking to realize this form which the quest for a better life is taking in our time is one of the high tasks of religion. As religious people we are not likely to think that this quest can be successful without religion. And if failure is to be our lot, it is religion that can help us to see the good in things evil.

For evil is a tremendous reality in the world, history is full of tragedy, man is sinful, and failure may come. We should know all of this by now.

But it is the greatness of true religion that it enables men and women to put forth maximum efforts in quest of the good in the face of the most forbidding realities of our existence. The insight by which it works is contained, in part, in six words which Alec Waugh, the English writer, says his father wrote in a prize-winning poem at Oxford many years ago. They have been the son's inspiration throughout his life. The six words were:

"High failure towering o'er low success."

Alec Waugh offers as illustrations, "the Spartans dying at Thermopylae . . . Woodrow Wilson fighting for one world at Versailles . . . the glorious evacuation of Dunkirk . . . Bataan."[11]

Can we give to the coming of a Community of Mankind as much as these failures gave to their cause? Or were they failures?

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[11] From "Reach Up," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle,* May 20, 1951, Magazine Section, p. 2.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the gains and costs to the U.S. of the foreign aid programs of the last ten years? Which outweighs the other, gains or costs?
2. How is foreign aid related to taxes? If there were no foreign aid would taxes be lower or higher? What would be the indirect costs of stopping all foreign aid?
3. How can we develop a public opinion that will give continuous support to intelligent long-range policies of foreign aid?
4. Is the changing status of women in Africa and Asia related to political, social and economic progress? Do women in the United States have a special interest in and concern for what is happening to women in the newly developing countries? How can American women be of most help?
5. Does the stigma of "hand-outs" make foreign aid in terms of grants impracticable?
6. Just how does racial discrimination at home affect our programs of helping peoples abroad?
7. What are the responsibilities of the press, the radio, the churches and synagogues, and the schools in respect to the issues we have been thinking about in this book?

CONCLUSION

A Word of Faith

I write these words just after the admission of the new African state of Ghana into the United Nations. The emergence of this state into full sovereignty with all the accompanying ceremonies, is a symbol of the coming of the peoples of the underdeveloped regions to a position on the world stage which their importance justifies.

The Prime Minister of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, is himself a symbol of the process by which these same peoples have come to be animated by the desire for a more satisfying existence, and have gotten under way in a vast movement toward a better life. Educated in Africa in Catholic mission schools where he developed a hunger for modern learning, Nkrumah came to Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, where he earned the degrees of bachelor of arts, bachelor of divinity, master of arts and master of science. He went on to London to study law and then back to Africa, where he became a leader in the movement of African nationalism.

He has ambitions for his country. He wants to make it a modern nation with good roads and schools, electric power, irrigation, and a higher general standard of living.[1]

The Peoples and God

To some Nkrumah is an ominous portent. Others view him as a sign of hope. In any case, it is difficult to view this vast upward movement of hitherto submerged peoples, which Nkrumah represents, without emotion. The deepest emotion of which we are

[1] From Charles R. Nixon, "Independence Comes to Africa," *Los Angeles Times,* March 7, 1957.

aware as we contemplate this movement is that of awe. And awe is a religious emotion. It is what we feel before the mystery of—God.

That movements of the peoples should be connected with the activity of God is nothing new. The Hebrew prophets dealt with this connection as one of their main themes. And moderns, when sufficiently impressed by what is happening in the world, are likely to find themselves in a religious mood. There is a note like that struck by the ancient singers of Israel in Christopher Fry's *A Sleep of Prisoners.*

MEADOWS, one of the prisoners, is speaking, partly to his fellow prisoners—and partly to us:

> Dark and cold we may be, but this
> Is no winter now. The frozen misery
> Of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move;
> The thunder is the thunder of the floes,
> The thaw, the flood, the upstart Spring.
> Thank God our time is now when wrong
> Comes up to face us everywhere,
> Never to leave us till we take
> The longest stride of soul men ever took.
> Affairs are now soul size.
> The enterprise
> Is exploration into God,
> Where no nation's foot has ever trodden yet.
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . It takes
> So many thousand years to wake,
> But will you wake for pity's sake,
> . . . . . .
> Wake up, will you?[2]

This is the poet's way of expressing something that is at the heart of religion. When men and women push out their experience with their fellow-humans to its farthest limits, they come not on an endless prolongation of experience on the horizontal plane. They come on a vertical dimension, what Karl Jaspers describes as experience at the boundary. So to the poet when "the

[2] Christopher Fry, *A Sleep of Prisoners,* Oxford University Press, New York and London, Second Printing, 1951, pp. 47-48. Used by permission.

frozen misery of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move," the challenge it brings is that of "exploration into God."

Of course, there is a movement of the spirit that bids us return to the service of men. When Moses hears the word of the Lord out of the burning bush, it brings no command to him to linger there but to return and assume the leadership of his people. And when Elijah hears the "still, small voice" at Mt. Horeb, the voice is speaking words that give the prophet a new mission to his country.

Here in this book we have been largely concerned with this "return" movement, the task of doing something among men that is worthy of the greatness of events in our time. But I cannot conclude without confessing that to me Christopher Fry has spoken words of deep significance about the possibilities that lie ahead in the vertical dimension.

Is it conceivable that a billion human beings should strike their tents and take up the march toward a more tolerable existence, assuming all the torment and travail of the journey, and that we could see it and remain just the same in our religious insight? This is difficult to believe.

On the other hand, if we face this great movement, and are willing to become partners of these peoples in their quest, we may dare to believe that this commitment will bring "openings" (to use a good Quaker word) into a fresh experience of God.

Let me mention some possible openings.

The Love of God

Who can look out upon this movement of the peoples without feeling that "there's a wideness in God's mercy"? Then the great figures of religious history begin to speak to us again. St. Paul tells us of a coming new humanity where there will be "neither Greek nor Jew . . . bond nor free," where neither race nor religion nor cultural difference nor social position will be able to separate men. St. Francis shares with us his love for the lepers and the poor, for all of God's creatures, for Brother Sun and Sister Moon. Albert Schweitzer teaches by example as he brings to the service of the humble of the earth one of the great spirits of all time.

To the figures we have just mentioned we would add the Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Buber as being among those who are likely to lead us into a fresh experience of the love of God. Gandhi, because he developed new ways of handling tension between human beings. Buber, because he has shown that the "I" is not complete and cannot know itself apart from the "Thou."

This leads us to suggest that from now on the peoples of the advanced countries cannot know themselves apart from what they are in relation to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. The uneasy conscience this realization will create among many in the advanced nations will induce among them "exploration into God," the classical remedy for their condition being the discovery, in the spirit of contrition, that

> The dear God who loveth us
> He made and loveth all.

The Judgment of God

And we are likely to be led into a fresh experience of the judgment of God.

The most searching judgments of God are not usually labeled as such at the moment when they are being passed upon us. It is only later that we realize that back there in such and such an event, we were weighed in the balances and found wanting.

These judgments come frequently in our relations with other persons. In the scene of the Last Judgment, in the 25th chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the King who is the Judge has met every person judged, under circumstances when the King was not recognized. He was there incognito. But the verdict is clear. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me. Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

These judgments appear also in what men do with the opportunities offered them by their time. There is a daring suggestion of this truth in words written by the prophet Hosea. He speaks of his people as of an individual, an individual who is an unborn child. Hosea says of him:

The pangs of childbirth come for him,
but he is an unwise son;
for he does not present himself
at the mouth of the womb.

This reads almost as if Hosea had read Freud. Perhaps Freud had read Hosea. At any rate, the idea is clear that the time has come when a people should be born, when they should begin a new life. But the people do not want to be born. They prefer the security of their conventional ways—a security that to the prophet means death.

This is one of the surest words of true religion, that the judgment of God comes unheralded in the way we deal as individuals with persons in need, and in the way we deal as a people with the supreme opportunities of our time. The application to our situation today as we think of the underdeveloped countries is so obvious that it needs no elaboration.

With mercy and with judgment
My web of time He wove.

The truth here is that of ancient religious wisdom. But we have faith that the "openings" in the vertical dimension of experience, which will appear as a result of our partnership with other peoples will lead us into a fresh appreciation of truth that is old, as well as to the discovery of truth that may be new.

We Need Both Old and New

In a world where much is changing while much abides, it is the proper mingling of old and new truth that makes sound philosophy and sound policy. I thought of this one night not long ago as I sat in our local Chamber of Commerce, listening to an inaugural address by one of our businessmen who had recently been elected president.[3] He was making a plea for taking a long view ahead and for the patience that must go with it. He said in effect that we had to have the courage to pioneer, and also the tenacity to keep on doing many unspectacular things that would

[3] The address was by Mr. Clarence Wynd, Assistant General Manager of the Kodak Park Works and a Vice-President of the Eastman Kodak Company.

keep the base in good order from which pioneering might proceed.

As I listened I thought what sound advice this was for all of us as Americans—advice capable of the widest application. We have to pioneer, to do on a national and an international scale things that have not been done. And we have to keep in healthy condition, in the open country, the village and the city, the basic freedoms, the neighborliness and the enterprise which will engender the great pioneering ventures that in our situation and in our time we must undertake.

Finally

It is my faith that we will not fail to do much that needs to be done. We have been critical of some things our people have done through our government. But we hope that the pride we feel about the way our people have shouldered many responsibilities for meeting the needs of the world has shown through the criticism. We do not believe that our people, when they get the facts, will refuse to face the situation before us in the underdeveloped countries. Nor do we believe that the churches and other religious groups will be unresponsive to the challenge these countries present.

But what we have to do we should not delay doing.

Appendix

OVERSEAS EXPENDITURES OF AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS DURING 1955[1]

During the year 1955, the American Jewish community, totalling about five million individuals, contributed nearly $150 million to Jewish philanthropic organizations. Of this sum over $80 million was allocated for overseas purposes, making a contribution for overseas work of more than $16 for every man, woman and child in the Jewish community.[2] It is anticipated that the amount for 1956 will be over $100 million. (The chief fund-raising agency is the United Jewish Appeal, although many organizations carry on independent campaigns.)

Of this sum, about $56 million were spent in Israel. Through the United Jewish Appeal, funds were provided for agricultural settlement, immigration absorption and Youth Aliyah (the migration and settlement of young people in Israel).[3] Another important program was the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's (JDC) Malben Program of service to sick, aged and handicapped immigrants in Israel. During the year, 19,865 persons were cared for in one hundred institutions supported under the Malben Program.

More than $13 million was contributed to such educational, scientific and cultural organizations as the Hebrew University,

[1] The information is largely from "Jewish Communal Services," by S. P. Goldberg, Director of Budget Research, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, which was prepared for the American *Jewish Year Book* 1956.

[2] The figures given include monies allocated from local welfare funds and raised through independent fund-raising campaigns. It is impossible to estimate the amounts raised by membership organizations from their own members. It must be remembered that these figures do not include the many millions of dollars raised locally by the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Congregations.

[3] Hadassah contributed one-third of the funds for Youth Aliyah.

the Technion Society, the Weizmann Institute of Science, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the Habima Theater and a program of cultural exchange. In addition, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, raised $6,969,000 for the support of its projects in Israel. Outstanding among these are the maintenance of five hospitals in Jerusalem and two in Beersheba, the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School, the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing and a School of Dentistry and a School of Pharmacy. Many individual schools, libraries and other educational projects also receive funds from the United States.

Relief, health and educational programs in Moslem countries, mainly North Africa, expanded in 1955 and 1956 as a result of unsettled conditions affecting the status of the local Jewish populations.

In 1955, JDC appropriated $3.7 million for work in that area and, exclusive of relief, in transit and reconstruction of community institutions, $4.2 million in Europe. Together with ORT (The Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training) the JDC sponsors vocational training schools in Western Europe, Israel, North Africa and Iran. A total of 18,705 trainees attended these courses in 1955. Concentrating its work in France, North Africa, and Israel, OSE (Oeuvre pour le Secours des Enfants Israelites) stresses preventive, curative and convalescent health services for children.

In addition to the major overseas programs many American Jewish Organizations sponsor one or more overseas projects as a part of their total program. Thus, the Jewish Labor Committee sponsors a child adoption program to support needy children overseas, regardless of religion. In addition, they support three orphanages in France, a home for convalescent children and a day nursery for the children of Displaced Persons in the poorer section of Paris and have established two textile factories in Israel and increased employment. The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods provides fellowships for qualified students from overseas who wish to study for the rabbinate at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. These men will serve as spiritual leaders in their homelands or in other countries overseas. The American Red Mogen Dovid raises funds for the sup-

port of the Mogen Dovid Adom (the equivalent of the Red Cross) in Israel. These are only a few of the many programs of relief and rehabilitation that are undertaken by American Jewish groups, such as the National Council of Jewish Women, Pioneer Women, Agudath Israel, as well as many others.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would express his appreciation to the Trustees of The Church Peace Union for making possible the study which presents some of its results in this volume. He is also grateful to the staff of the same organization for their generous cooperation in the prosecution of the study. The members of the study group mentioned in the Foreword have contributed much in suggesting subjects for investigation, in discussing the possible conclusions that may be drawn from the evidence, and in the critical reading of this book before publication.

Beyond those immediately concerned in this study there are many members of various organizations, especially of the United Nations and of the International Cooperation Administration, who have made available to us their experience in the field of what has become known as "foreign aid." Without their help we could have made little headway.

The author would also use this opportunity to thank the friends in his own community who have read this manuscript and have helped him in formulating the questions for discussion.

We are indebted to the following organizations which have permitted us to use the pictures which illustrate the text of this volume:

Photographs in Chapter II through courtesy of the Grail Institute for Overseas Service, Medical Missions Sisters, and Statesman Photos.

Photographs in Chapter III through courtesy of UNATIONS photos; in Chapter IV, ICA and FOA; in Chapter V, The Ford Foundation.

Cover photograph through courtesy of ICA.

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